# THE NATIVE RACES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

# NORTH AMERICA

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INDIANS FISHING WITH THE DIP-NET ON FRASER RIVER

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The Native Races of the British Empire

# BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

## I.

## THE FAR WEST

THE HOME OF THE

## SALISH AND DÉNÉ

BY

C. HILL-TOUT

WITH THIRTY-THREE FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS

AND ONE MAP

TORONTO
THE COPP CLARK COMPANY
LIMITED
1907

Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty

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# EDITOR'S PREFACE

INTEREST in the subject races of the British Empire should be especially keen in the Mother Country, where there are few families but send into our dependencies some member, be it as Government official, soldier, or colonist. Anthropological text-books are at once too technical and too bulky to attract the ordinary reader, who wishes for no more than a sketch of habits and customs, accurate but readable, in which matter too abstruse, or otherwise unsuitable for general consumption, is omitted. The present series is intended to supply in handy and readable form the needs of those who wish to learn something of the life of the uncivilised races of our Empire; it will serve the purpose equally of those who remain at home and of those who fare forth into the world and come into personal contact with peoples in the lower stages of culture.

Unless otherwise stated the contributors to the series will be anthropologists who have personal knowledge of the tribes of whom they write; references to authorities will be dispensed with, as unnecessary for the general reader; but for those who desire to follow up the subject a bibliography will be found at the end of each volume.

The present series may perhaps do more than



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merely spread a knowledge of the dark-skinned races beneath the British flag. Germany awoke years ago to the importance of the study of native races from a political and commercial, no less than from a scientific point of view. In twenty-five years the Berlin Museum has accumulated ethnographical collections more than ten times as large as those of the British Museum, and the work of collection goes on incessantly. England, with the greatest colonial empire which the world has ever seen, lags far behind. Money will perhaps be forthcoming in England for work in anthropology when savage life and savage culture has disappeared for ever from the earth before the onward march of so-called civilisation. If, one hundred years hence, English anthropologists have to go to Germany to study the remains of those who were once our subject races, we shall owe this humiliation to the supineness of England at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The past, once lost, can never be recovered; we have before us, in the subject races of our Empire, a living memorial of the past, and if England does her duty, she will lose no time in organising an Imperial Bureau of Ethnology, and thus enable English anthropologists to hold up their heads before their more fortunate German and American brethren.

NORTHCOTE W. THOMAS.

LONDON, *November* 22, 1906.

# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In writing the life-history of two such extensive and diversified Stocks as those treated of in this volume, one must needs be dependent, to a greater or less extent, upon the labours of others. No single student could cover so wide a field unaided, and I desire here to acknowledge my indebtedness to those from whom I have drawn or received assistance in the preparation of this work.

Foremost among these is my always courteous friend and fellow-student, the Reverend Father Morice of the Oblate Mission at Stuart's Lake, British Columbia.

This able and scholarly missionary has spent a large portion of his life among the Déné tribes, and is more familiar with all that appertains to their lives and customs, both past and present, than any other man living. To him I have gone for much of my information on this Stock, as also for confirmation of any doubtful points drawn from others, and my readers may feel assured that what I have written upon the Déné is accurate and reliable.

In my treatment of the Salish, with whom I have myself been in close and friendly contact for the past fifteen years, I have relied mainly upon my own personal knowledge and studies, supplementing these, where I thought it desirable, with information gathered by others who have made special studies of particular tribes or subjects. For such help I believe I have always made acknowledgment in the text.

I desire also to express my sense of obligation to Dr. Otis Mason, Curator of the Department of Anthropology in the United States National Museum, to Dr. Clark Wissler, Acting Curator of the American Museum of Natural History, for their many courtesies to me, and for their kind permission to use such of the publications of their Institutions as bore upon my subject; and to Mr. Kermode, Curator of the Provincial Museum of British Columbia, for his kind assistance in photographing such of the objects of native art intrusted to his care as I desired for my purpose.

Abbotsford, British Columbia,
*April* 30, 1906.

# CONTENTS

PAGE

EDITOR'S PREFACE, . . . . . v

AUTHOR'S PREFACE, . . . . . vii

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

Geography; the inland plain, the mountain systems, the central plateau, the rivers. Climate. Flora; cedar-tree. Birds, beasts, and fish. The salmon. History. Early voyagers: Juan de Fuca, Vancouver. Explorers: Mackenzie, Fraser. The Indians in their day. Treatment of the native races. Death rate, . . . . . 1

## CHAPTER II

### THE NATIVE RACES

'Indian.' Theories of their origin. The stocks of British North America. The Salish; their tribes and distribution. The Déné. Characteristic features of Indians: face, nose. Various types. Hair, eyes, teeth. Salish types. Head deformation; various forms. Déné types. Father Morice's description. Intelligence of the Indians. Lack of courage. Virtues. Moral precepts, . . . . . 30

## CHAPTER III

### HABITATIONS

Long-house of Coast Salish; use of roofs; interior; furniture. Houses and lodges of Inland Salish. Girls' shelter. Lodges of the Déné. Fires. The tepee or tent, . . . . . 51

## CHAPTER IV

### DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

PAGE

Clothing of men and women of Coast Salish. Hats. Blankets. Weaving. Clothing of noble of Inland Salish. Moccasins. Cloaks. Girls' dress. Modesty of girls. Ornaments; earrings; nose-pins; labrets; necklaces; armlets. Hairdressing. Face-paint. Tatoo. Clothing of Eastern and Western Déné. Ornaments. Headgear. Ceremonial attire. Headdress. Apron. Girl's puberty costume, . . . . . 63

## CHAPTER V

### FOOD AND COOKING

The salmon. Fishing; weirs and nets; spears. Preparation of the fish. Salmon oil. Cooking. Other fish. Game. Vegetable food. Root cooking. Bark as food. Berries. Nuts. Fowling. Meals. Stores of food, . . . . . 89

## CHAPTER VI

### BASKETRY AND BARK VESSELS

Woven and sewn types. Coiled basketry. Mode of manufacture. Decorative work. Symbolism. Imbricating. Pigments. Materials. Cedar bark. Bark vessels. Uses, . . . . 109

## CHAPTER VII

### IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AND THE CHASE

Bow. Archery. Arrow and spear points. Shields. Coat armour. Hide tunic. War-clubs. Tomahawks. Snares. Canoes. Canoe-making. Tools: hammer, etc. Bowls. Pipes, . 127

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION

PAGE

Exogamous divisions of the Nahane: bird, beast, and fish people. The Carriers. Three ranks. Property. Inheritance. Succession of chief; the five feasts. The 'potlatch.' Patriarchy of Nahane and Eastern Déné. Marriage. Property. Organisation of Salish. Elective chiefs. Communism and aristocracy. Family pride. Endogamy. The 'potlatch.' Dances. Slavery, . . . . . 143

## CHAPTER IX

### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Animism. Treatment of game and vegetation. Salmon ceremony. Shaman. Guardian spirits. Names, things, and symbols. The soul. Future life, . . . . . 166

## CHAPTER X

### SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Déné marriage customs. Wife purchase. Aunt marriage. Proposing. Salish customs; Coast tribes; Lillooet; Thompson River Indians. Déné death ceremonies. Mourners' taboos. Funeral feasts; games. Burial. Widows. Salish customs. Preparation of corpse. Burial. Mortuary taboos. Customs of Thompsons, announcing the death. Burial. Divination. Widows and Widowers. Grave-figures, . . . . . 181

## CHAPTER XI

### FOLKTALES AND MYTHS

Origin of daylight. A Salish Orpheus. The Coyote and his Friends. The Elk maiden, . . . . . 212

## CHAPTER XII

### FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE

PAGE

Birth customs. Early life. Education of the youth and maiden. Games. Gambling. Feasts. Longevity, . . . . . 243

BIBLIOGRAPHY, . . . . . 254

INDEX, . . . . . 255

# LIST OF PLATES


Indians fishing with the dip-net on Fraser River —*Frontispiece*

PLATE

I. A Salish woman extracting oil from the 'Candle-fish,' . . . . *facing page* 13

II. A typical face—Sarcee Indian, . . „ 35

III. A Déné with marked Mongoloid features, „ 36

IV. A family group. Coast Salish, . . „ 38

V. A Déné youth, . . . „ 40

VI. A Déné Belle in native poncho, . . „ 42

VII. Typical Plain Indians, . . . „ 44

VIII. (1) A Salish chief, . . . .
(2) A Salish boy, . . .
(3) A Salish grandmother, . .
(4) A Salish woman, . . . „ 47

IX. An Old-time Salish dwelling, . . „ 50

X. Long-houses of the Coast Salish, . . „ 52

XI. Summer Lodges of the Interior Salish, . „ 56

XII. Northern Déné Skin Lodges, . . „ 60

XIII. Sarcee Skin Lodge, . . . „ 61

XIV. Déné maids in native costume, . . „ 79

XV. A Déné chief in full dress, . . „ 80

XVI. Sarcee braves in ceremonial costume, . „ 82

XVII. Déné 'medicine-men' in ceremonial costume, „ 85

PLATE
XVIII. Déné 'wampum,'. . . . *facing page* 86
XIX. A family of Eastern Déné in native costume, . . . . . „ 88
XX. Imbricated basketry of the Fraser Salish, . . . . . „ 115
XXI. Basketry Designs, . . . . „ 117
XXII. Specimens of Salish woven basketry and matting, . . . . . „ 119
XXIII. Déné birch-bark canoes, Great Slave Lake, . . . . . „ 121
XXIV. Typical Coast Salish canoes, . . „ 137
XXV. Salish 'pestle' hammers and bowls, . „ 139
XXVI. Salish stone ceremonial bowls, . . „ 141
XXVII. Salish stone pipes, . . . „ 142
XXVIII. Tree burial, . . . . „ 196
XXIX. A Coast Salish mortuary column showing the deceased's totem, . . „ 205
XXX. A Salish graveyard. Vancouver Island, „ 211
XXXI. A typical Salish mother and babe, . „ 243
XXXII. Cradle life among the Salish, . . „ 244

MAP OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

# THE NATIVES OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

THE habitat and natural surroundings of a people, particularly if that people be in the earlier, ruder stages of life, have such an important bearing upon their character and cultural development that any attempt to treat of their national or tribal life, must, if it is to have any permanent value or be worthy of the reader's attention, give some account of their geographical position.

It will therefore be well to begin this life-history of two of the larger and more important native races of the westernmost portion of our Empire with a short description of the chief geographical and zoological features of their country. In later chapters the flora and fauna, as they affect the lives of the tribes under consideration, will be more specifically treated in their proper relations.

The territory occupied by the Salish and Déné stocks is very extensive, comprising about one-half of the whole area of British North America, and stretches practically from the shores of Hudson Bay to the Pacific Ocean. This great tract of land includes the

province of British Columbia and most of that portion of Canada lying to the north-east of it, known formerly as the North-West Territories. It is cut in two by the primary axis of the continent—the Rocky Mountains ; and nowhere can two adjacent districts be found which present greater physical contrasts than those that lie on either side of this dividing line.

East of the mountains the land slopes gently away from the foot-hills to the far-distant waters of the Hudson Bay in one continuous and almost level plain, which has been characterised by a learned explorer as a dreary region of rocks and marshes, of shallow lakes and treacherous rivers, offering no attractions of any kind save such as the hunter finds in the varied fur-bearing animals which roam over its vast solitudes, and afford the nomadic tribes, whose hereditary hunting-ground it is, a precarious existence.

On the west we find the very reverse of all this. Instead of vast stretches of level and barren plains we find here a country whose chief physical characteristics are extended and stupendous mountain systems and densely timbered forests. The climate and other natural conditions vary greatly here also, and have more deeply affected the life and culture of the natives than on the eastern side of the range. For this reason, and because one of the two races under consideration, as well as the most interesting and best known divisions of the other, have their habitat wholly on this side within the confines of British Columbia, we shall deal chiefly with the physical features of this region in our description of the country.

British Columbia is the most western of the several provinces which, with the North-West and North-East Territories, make up the Dominion of Canada, as our possessions in the New World are now generally named. It is the largest of all the provinces, having a length of some 700 miles and a width of about 400; it contains upwards of 300,000 square miles or an area nearly eight times the size of England. It stretches north and south from the International Boundary Line to the 60th parallel of northern latitude and east and west from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. It is essentially a mountainous country, as we have said, for within its borders there are not less than four distinct mountain systems or chains all running in the same general direction, north and south: two on its eastern, and two on its western flank.

Those on the eastern side are the Rocky Mountains just mentioned, whose summits here not infrequently rise to an elevation of 16,000 feet and upwards, and the Selkirk Mountains. These two ranges are separated from each other by a remarkably long and regular valley which stretches from the International Boundary to the northern limits of the Selkirks, a distance of over 700 miles. Those on the western side are the island and the coast ranges. The latter is sometimes called the Pacific Alps. It runs from near the mouth of the Fraser River, nearly due northward into Alaska, closely following the line of the coast the whole way. Some of its peaks attain a height of 10,000 feet.

Lying between these great flanking ramparts, in the interior of the Mainland, is a large elevated plateau,

the altitude of which varies from 1000 feet to 3500 feet. Through this flows the great Fraser River, the chief salmon-bearing waters of the Province; from which in pre-trading days, scores of native tribes drew their sustenance. This river has its source in the Rockies, and flowing through a gap in the Selkirks, after a varied course of close upon 800 miles, along bold and tortuous cañons, and silent, wide-lying valleys, finally mingles its waters with the Pacific by way of the Gulf of Georgia.

The larger and more important of the other rivers of the Province, of which there are a great number, are the Peace, Findlay, Skeena, and Stickeen Rivers. These are found in the northern portions of the country, the two former flowing eastward to form the Mackenzie River and the two latter westward to join their waters with the Pacific. Next to the great mountain systems of the Province the most marked physical feature of the country is the singularly broken character of the coast-line, which in this respect presents a striking contrast to the coast-line of the States to the south. From Cape Flattery to San Francisco, a distance of about 700 miles, the line is practically unbroken, not a single indention or bay being found big enough to form a serviceable harbour. But when we turn northward all this is changed. The whole coast from end to end, from Cape Flattery to Alaska, is cut and broken up with innumerable islands, bays and deep inlets, the latter of which far surpass in their dimensions and complexity those of any other part of the world. Some of the British Columbian fiords run like gigantic canals far into the interior between rugged mountain

walls that rise sheer out of the water for 1000 feet or more. Others are bounded by tree-clad slopes and dotted with picturesque islets, the haunts of a varied fauna and the favourite hunting-grounds of the littoral tribes.

The main islands lie more or less in two groups, the more prominent of which are Vancouver's Island, which contains the capital of the province, and the Queen Charlotte Islands. The former is separated from the mainland by Juan de Fuca Strait, the Gulf of Georgia and Queen Charlotte Sound, and the latter, which lie 200 miles farther north, by Vancouver Strait. These islands represent the peaks and upper valleys of the westernmost of the four great mountain chains of the region, a submergence of this chain having taken place in past ages; but beyond the Queen Charlotte Islands it rises again out of the Pacific and forms the Alaskan peninsula. The shores and bays of both groups of islands were in the days of the early navigators of these western waters comparatively densely peopled with native tribes. This can scarcely be said to be the case to-day. The mortality of the native races since the advent of the whites has been excessive, and nowhere more so than among these island tribes.

Owing to the large extent and varied physical features of the country the climate of British Columbia differs widely according to the locality. West of the coast ranges the climate, in comparison with that of the same latitude on the other side of the continent, is remarkably temperate, closely resembling that of

the south coast of Devon. The rainfall is, however, much greater here than in any part of England.

This characteristic mildness of climate is due to the warm breezes that blow in from the Japanese current which skirts the shores of the north Pacific coast on its course to the Polar Sea. But owing to the formidable barriers reared by the coast range, the influence of these balmy winds is not so much felt in the interior of the province as is the influence of the Gulf Stream in the interior of England. Indeed, east of the coast range, which has a width of from sixty to a hundred miles, it is doubtful if it is felt at all, and instead of the excessive precipitation and humidity of the coast and islands, due to the vapour-laden winds of the ocean, the rainfall here is exceedingly scanty, and the climate consequently very dry.

The great central plateau is commonly spoken of as the 'dry belt.' Here it is both hotter in summer and colder in winter than west of the coast range, the temperature ranging from 80° to 110° in the shade in July and August, and from freezing-point to zero or considerably below in the winter months. Heavy falls of snow occur also here, which lie on the ground throughout the winter. On the southern portion of the coast, and particularly on Vancouver's Island snow falls as rarely and melts as quickly as in the south-west of England.

The vegetation of the southern portion of Vancouver's Island differs very materially from that of the mainland; and that again of the interior from the forms which characterise the humid coastal region.

West of the coast range dense forests of fir, of which the 'Douglas' is the characteristic species, clothe the land to the water's edge. Some of these trees are of enormous proportions, not infrequently attaining a girth of five-and-twenty feet, and a height of three hundred, with perhaps a variation of less than a foot in their diameter for the first hundred and fifty feet.

Interspersed with these are other varieties of fir, cypress, spruce, hemlock, and the American white cedar, the *Thuya gigantea* of the botanists. Some of these latter along the coast also reach gigantic proportions, having not uncommonly a diameter of from fifteen to twenty feet near the base. This cedar-tree has had a unique and far-reaching influence in the lives of the littoral tribes, and has been more potent in shaping the lines of their culture than any other single factor of their environment. It was to them much what the cocoa-nut palm was to the South-Sea Islanders. From its outer bark the men constructed their ropes and lines, coverings for their dwellings, their slow matches or 'travelling fire,' and many other things. From its inner bark their wives wove garments for themselves and their children, made their beds and pillows, padded their babies' cradles, fashioned the compressing bands and pads for deforming their heads, besides applying it in a multitude of other ways. From its wood the men built the family and communal dwellings, made such furniture as they used—tubs, pots, kettles, bowls, dishes, and platters; fashioned their graceful and buoyant fishing and war canoes,

their coffins, their treasure-chests, their ceremonial masks, their heraldic emblems, their commemorative columns, their totem poles, and a host of other objects. From the branches of the younger trees they made their most enduring withes and ties, and from its split roots their wives and daughters constructed the beautiful water-tight basketry of this region. There was practically no part of this wonderful tree which they did not apply to some useful purpose or other. They even resorted to it for food in times of scarcity and famine—the women and children robbing the squirrels and chipmunks of their stores of its cones for the nourishment which they contained. Indeed one can hardly imagine what the condition of the natives of this region would have been without this tree, no other in the country lending itself to such a variety of useful purposes.

In the river valleys, particularly in the Delta of the Fraser, birch, alder, poplar, maple, cotton-wood, crab and willow take the place or share the soil with the fir and cedar ; and wherever the land has been denuded by fire or other cause, of the more primitive fir, these deciduous trees spring up so rapidly in the mild, moist atmosphere of that region that in less than two score years a second forest appears. In these valleys a dense and varied undergrowth spreads itself in rank luxuriance. Ferns and mosses of almost countless varieties abound, conspicuous amongst which are magnificent specimens of the stag and fern mosses; masses of the most exquisite oak and maiden-hair ferns, and the lofty fronds of the commoner bracken

fern. In some districts this latter grows so high as to overtop a man's head when riding on horseback, and affords most excellent shelter and protection to numerous herds of black- and white-tailed deer.

In the eastern provinces of the same latitude as British Columbia the oak, elm and beech hold their own with the fir, or have entirely superseded it; but here these trees have no chance of existence in the dense fir forests of the mainland. On the southern portions of Vancouver's Island, however, where the soil is of a different nature, shallow and rocky, a hardy, struggling variety of oak has managed to obtain a footing; the juniper and the arbutus are also common.

In the interior plateau the characteristic tree is the black pine. On the lower slopes of the Rockies and Selkirks the tamarack, white spruce and juniper are mostly found.

Of flowers and flowering shrubs there are great numbers and many varieties. The more open glades of the forest, the upper valleys and the slopes of the mountains are clothed from spring to autumn with a succession of blooms. Many of the flowering shrubs are also fruit-bearing, and the gathering and preserving of their berries form no inconsiderable part of the work of the native women and girls in the autumn months of the year.

The dense forests and the mountain fastnesses of British Columbia offer ideal haunts for animal life of all kinds. It is not surprising, therefore, that this region was, and in many respects still is, one of the best hunting-grounds in the world. Its game is not

only abundant but also varied, and in pre-trading days supported in rude plenty a large native population.

The larger animals number among them the wapiti or American elk, the caribou, moose, deer of three varieties, the antelope goat, the 'big-horn' or mountain sheep, of which there is more than one species, the panther, variously called 'puma,' 'cougar' or 'mountain lion,' the lynx, wolves of several species, the wild cat, red, white and silver-grey foxes, and black, brown, and grizzly bears. Among the smaller may be mentioned the beaver, martin, fisher, musk-rat, porcupine, gopher, wolverine, otter, racoon, hares and rabbits of several varieties, chipmunks, flying and other squirrels, the mink, the weasel, and its evil-smelling cousin the skunk.

The bird list of British Columbia is a very full and varied one. The difference between the species found here and in other parts of America is not very great or marked. In size it is generally thought the British Columbian birds are on the whole larger, and in plumage decidedly darker than eastern specimens. But they have one special feature of their own, few singing birds are found among them. The songsters of British Columbia are comparatively rare. Sea-birds and water-fowl generally are found in abundance. Of duck alone there are more than twenty-five species; eight or nine of geese and at least two of swans. Snipe and plover of several varieties are also plentiful. The grouse family is likewise well represented and widely distributed, seven or eight different species being found. Birds of prey are correspondingly numerous,

there being at least twenty species of falcons, hawks, and eagles and at least a dozen different kinds of owls. The smaller birds such as the finches, sparrows, thrushes, blackbirds, wrens, etc. are also well represented, and nothing makes the woods and forest lands of British Columbia so homelike to Englishmen as the presence everywhere of the last named. *Troglodytes hiemalis pacificus*, the commonest of the species, is a familiar sight all over the Province. It is found even in the densest forests where no other bird save the woodpecker is to be seen. This little bird consequently figures largely in the folk-tales and animal stories of the Indians.

British Columbia is also rich in marine life. The sea-otter, the fur and hair seal, and the sea-lion are common features of the coastal waters, and were and still are hunted by the natives both for their flesh and their fur. The early navigators of these waters have left us some very interesting accounts of the almost incredible numbers of skins of these animals they secured from the natives for a few handfuls of beads or nails, or an axe or two; and Washington Irving tells us that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the flags of nearly two score nations of the world were represented by the ships of the traders who frequented these western waters in quest of hides and pelts.

But the characteristic product of the waters of British Columbia is the salmon. This fish is found nowhere in the world in such numbers and varieties as on the North Pacific coast. There are five or six species known to commerce, and most, if not all, of the

canned salmon sold and eaten in England comes from this region. To the natives in pre-trading days the salmon formed the chief staple of their larders, taking much the same place in their dietary as bread does in our own, or rice in that of the Oriental. In treating of the food of the natives we shall have occasion to speak of this again, and show the various ways in which they made use of the salmon.

Each of the different species has its own period of 'running,' that is, the time of the year the fish leave the salt waters of the ocean and enter the rivers and streams for the purpose of spawning. It has been already mentioned that the Fraser River was one of the chief salmon-bearing rivers of the Province, and the numbers of these fish that pass up its waters to the spawning-grounds in a good season are almost incredible. In parts where the river narrows or the course of the fish is impeded by any natural or artificial obstruction, such as a fall or a weir, the salmon congregate below in such numbers that it is almost possible to cross the river upon their backs. Three other fish figured largely, though not over so wide a field as the salmon, in the dietary of the coastal tribes. These were the sturgeon, the halibut and the oolichan (*Thaleichthys pacificus*). The first-named attains enormous proportions, specimens weighing eight and nine hundred pounds being caught at times in the Fraser. The last-named, locally known as the 'candle fish,' is related to the salmon family. It is a small fish about nine inches in length, and so plentifully do they 'run' that they literally choke the

A SALISH WOMAN EXTRACTING OIL FROM THE "CANDLE FISH"

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 13

waters and can be scooped up in bucketfuls. They are caught in large numbers by the natives, who extract the oil or grease from them. The accompanying plate shows how this was commonly done. This grease was a staple article of trade with them in former years. It was packed in small cedar boxes and carried over the mountains along well-defined trade routes, and in this manner found its way far into the interior of the country. The oolichan is so full of fat that it is said that a dried specimen will burn like a torch. Hence its name of 'candle fish.' As an article of diet there is nothing finer. Fried in its own fat it is the most delicious of fish; and during its short season is in great demand on the coast.

Another marine commodity in the earlier days was the clam. This shell-fish is found in great quantities on all the tidal-flats. The coastal tribes not only ate large numbers of these themselves but dried and cured them, using them in barter with the inland tribes. The midden-heaps of this region are largely formed from the shells of this fish. Some of these refuse-heaps are of enormous proportions, exceeding in mass and area the classic heaps of Denmark.

The chief physical feature of the great lone region east of the Rocky Mountains is the number of its lakes. These are found spread over its whole surface and connected one to the other by a network of streams and rivers forming an almost continuous line of waterways from Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Mackenzie, the waters of the north-western lakes flowing into the Arctic Ocean by way of the Mackenzie and those of

the south-eastern into Hudson Bay through Chesterfield inlet. The larger and more important of these are the Great Bear, Great Slave, and Athabasca Lakes. North of the latter the country is everywhere bleak and barren except along the valley of the Mackenzie which, in places, is well wooded. The fauna of this region include the elk, reindeer, moose, caribou, musk ox, deer, bear, wolf, hare, fox, rabbit, and on the slopes of the Rockies, the mountain-sheep and goat. In some localities the reindeer and moose have been domesticated and are employed as beasts of burden. South of Lake Athabasca herds of buffalo formerly abounded, but these have now all disappeared. The lakes and rivers afford the natives a fair supply of fish of several varieties, such as trout, white fish, carp, pickerel, pike, and blue fish. Water-fowls frequent the lakes and rivers in large numbers at certain seasons of the year. These include the great and small swan, the great and small bustard, the grey and white goose, ducks of more than a dozen varieties, sea and land plovers, snipe, gulls, cranes, and pelicans.

The land birds include the eagle, hawk, owl, grouse, robin, blackbird, and a host of smaller birds.

In winter the climate is extremely severe, particularly in the north. The cold in some years is so great as to cause the waters of the Mackenzie to freeze to a depth of five and a half feet. Winter sets in early in this region and lasts till May or even June. In summer the heat is often very great, but the nights are generally cool though extremely short in the higher latitudes.

History of their own, in the strict sense of the word,

the native races of British Columbia and adjoining territories have none. Like other primitive peoples they have oral traditions of the family and tribe, and records of descent, more or less reliable, which go back for five or six or even, in some instances, for ten generations. Beyond these they can supply us with no information concerning their past; such knowledge as we would gather of that we must glean for ourselves from their old camp sites and from their ancient burial places. From these two sources we learn that the country has been occupied by races living in a state of primitive culture very similar to that of the tribes now occupying the land for two or perhaps three thousand years. Beyond this period we have no evidence of man's presence in this part of the world, though he may very well have existed here as in other portions of the continent prior to this, or even as far back as pre-glacial times. We know that in the Tertiary Period the climate of this region was almost sub-tropical and offered a genial home to man. Fruits of many kinds grew to his hand, nature being apparently as bountiful here then as she now is in more southern latitudes. To judge by the fossil remains it was apparently a land in which man might have passed a pleasant existence, but thus far we have no evidence of his presence here at this period.

The history of the tribes of British Columbia and the North-West is really the history of the exploration and settlement of the country by the whites, and begins with the advent of the fur-trader, and goes back only

to the closing years of the eighteenth century. The first Europeans to visit the shores of this region were the early Spanish and British navigators. During Captain Cook's last voyage to the islands of the Pacific, it was discovered that a profitable trade in furs might be opened up between the north-west coast of America and China; and it is from the traders that followed in the tracks of Cook, and especially from the accounts given by Vancouver, Dixon, and Meares that we get our earliest information of the natives of British Columbia, their appearance, manners, and customs. Dixon and Meares came in contact only with those who dwelt on the western side of Vancouver's Island and the coastal tribes to the north of that region. The first to thoroughly explore and sail up the strait of Juan de Fuca into the inner waters and come into contact with the Salish tribes was Vancouver. From him we gather our first brief knowledge concerning them. He writes thus of them in his Journal:— 'The people in their persons, canoes, arms, implements, etc., seemed to resemble chiefly the inhabitants of Nootka [the tribes on the south-western coast of Vancouver's Island]; though less bedaubed with paint. . . . They wore ornaments in their ears, but none were observed in their noses . . . they were clothed in the skins of deer, bear, and some other animals, but principally in a woollen garment of their own manufacture, extremely well-wrought.' Again in another passage he says: 'In their weapons, implements, canoes, and dress they vary little. Their native woollen garments was most in fashion, next to it the skins of deer, bear, etc.; a

few more dresses manufactured from bark, which, like their woollen ones, were very neatly wrought.

'Their spears, arrows, and other weapons were shaped exactly like those of Nootka, but none were pointed with copper or with mussel-shell. The former were generally barbed, and those pointed with common flint, agate, and bone seemed of their original workmanship. Yet more of their arrows were observed to be pointed with thin flat iron than with bone or flint, and it was singular that they should prefer exchanging those pointed with iron to any other. Their bows were of a superior construction; these in general were from two and a half to three feet in length; the broadest part in the middle was about an inch and a half, and about three-fourths of an inch thick, neatly made, gradually tapering to each end which terminated in a shoulder and a hook for the security of the bowstring. They were all made of yew, and chosen with a naturally inverted curve suited to the method of using them. From end to end of the concave side, which when strung became the convex part, a very strong strip of an elastic hide is attached to some, and the skins of serpents to others exactly the shape and length of the bow, neatly and firmly affixed to the wood by means of a cement, the adhesive property of which I never saw or heard of being equalled. It was not to be affected by either dry or damp weather, and forms so strong a connection with the wood as to prevent a separation without destroying the component parts of both. The bowstring is made of the sinew of some marine animal laid loose in order to be

twisted at pleasure as the temperature of the atmosphere may require to preserve it at proper length.'

In another passage he calls attention to the large number of dogs some of the natives possessed. He writes thus:—'The dogs belonging to this tribe of Indians were numerous and much resembled those of Pomerania, though in general somewhat larger. They were all shorn close to the skin as sheep are in England and so compact were their fleeces that large portions could be lifted up by a corner without causing any separation. These were composed of a mixture of a coarse kind of wool with very fine long hair capable of being spun into yarn.'

This description of the native dog is doubly interesting to us now from the fact that this fleece-bearing animal has entirely disappeared and is no longer bred by the modern Indians. We will make one more citation from Vancouver's Journal, because it refers to one of the best known of the Salish tribes, to the tribe whose home is about the waters of Burrard Inlet adjoining the site of that modern city which has been called after Vancouver's own name.

'Here,' he writes, 'we were met by about fifty Indians in their canoes, who conducted themselves with the greatest decorum and civility, presenting us with several fish cooked and undressed of the sort already mentioned as resembling smelts. These good people finding we were inclined to make them some return for their hospitality showed much understanding in preferring iron and copper.'

I was fortunate enough a few years ago to meet with

an old Indian of this tribe whose mother was actually amongst those Indians that met Vancouver on the occasion he refers to. He informed me that their tribe had heard rumours of the white men with their strange monstrous ships on the outer waters, but that up to that time no white man had ever visited them. He spoke of the astonishment this visit of Vancouver evoked among his people. His mother, who was a young woman at the time, often talked with him about it, and of the marvellous appearance of the ship with its many sails and its rigging, so strange and different from anything they had seen before. This visit of Vancouver to their waters has a distinct place in the traditions of this tribe.

Simultaneously with Vancouver's explorations and discoveries on the coast, Alexander Mackenzie, an agent of the North-West Fur Company, whose head-quarters was Montreal, was pushing his way westward over the Rockies and exploring the interior; and, singularly enough, when in the summer of 1793 he reached the Pacific, he was, all unknown to himself or Vancouver, within twenty miles of where the latter lay at anchor. Mackenzie's track lay through the Déné country, and it is of this people he mostly speaks. We gather from his Journal that guns and rum were familiar to the Sikani tribes on both sides of the Rockies, and he was obliged more than once, under threats of violence, to supply them with the latter. He speaks of meeting with herds of buffalo in ascending the Parsnip river; and it would thus seem that these animals once roamed in the valleys west of

the Rockies in the northern portions of British Columbia—a fact not generally known. He noticed also the presence and use of iron among the Sikani, and learned that they had procured it from the Carrier tribes, who, in turn, had received it from 'those who live in houses' (meaning thereby the Coast Indians) to whom it was supplied by white men like himself who travelled in canoes as big as islands on the 'stinking water.'

Passing southwards, he came in contact with the Carrier tribes. His experience with them was at first rather alarming on account of their threatening attitude; but he finally succeeded, by great tact and a generous distribution of presents, in assuring them of his peaceful intentions, and winning their confidence and friendship.

He speaks of them as being thinly clad, and displaying the most outrageous antics in their fury at his first approach. He also remarks that after they had made friends, 'they observed us and everything about us with a mixture of admiration and astonishment.'

He was for reaching the Pacific by what he thought was the head-waters of the Columbia River, but which Simon Fraser a few years later proved to be those of an entirely different river; he was, however, dissuaded from this course by the accounts given him by the Carriers of its impracticable nature, and chose a route pointed out by them, which lay due west, and was but seven days' journey from their main village. This brought him in due course, and after some exciting

adventures, to that arm of the sea now known as the Bentinck Inlet. It was along this route, the Carriers informed him, that they were accustomed to travel when they went to procure their brass and copper trinkets, and the bars of iron from which they manufactured their axes and fashioned the points of their arrows and spears; from this statement we may gather that thus early a regular trade in European products had been established between the inland and the coastal tribes who first came in touch with the traders.

The first white man to make acquaintance with the interior Salish of British Columbia was Simon Fraser, another officer of the North-West Fur Company. This was in 1808, some years after Mackenzie's visit to the country, the result of which had been the establishment of new trading-posts west of the Rockies. To Fraser we owe, not the first discovery of the great river which now bears his name, but its exploration. Its discovery was made by Mackenzie, as we have seen, fifteen years earlier, but Fraser was the first white man to essay its passage. Disregarding the advice of the Carriers, he attempted to navigate its upper waters, and came near to losing his life and the lives of his men in the attempt; and the pages of his Journal which deal with this episode are eloquent in their description of his perilous trip down its swirling, eddying current.

His first mention of the Salish is a reference to a people he calls Askettihs. We do not seem able to recognise them under this term, but they were probably an outlying division of the Lillooets. His ren-

dering of the difficult names of the Salish tribes with which he came in contact shows that he was a much better traveller and explorer than a linguist, for only in one instance did he succeed in recording the names correctly. These Askettihs attempted to bar his passage, and, 'dressed in coats of mail,' received him with a flight of arrows. Their village, he writes, 'is a fortification of one hundred feet by twenty-four, surrounded by palisades eighteen feet high, slanting inward, and lined with a shorter row, which supported a shade covered with bark, constituting their dwellings.'

Describing this people, he says of them: 'They are civil, but would not part with their provisions without difficulty. They have a variety of roots, some of which taste like potatoes, and are excellent. Their bows and arrows are neat; their mats, with which they cover their shades, are made of different materials, such as grass, watap, or pine roots. We observed several European articles among them, particularly a new copper tea-kettle and a gun of a large size, which are probably of Russian manufacture.'

He seems to have been much impressed by the honesty of the natives. One day an Indian brought him a pistol which one of his men had lost the day before, and in referring to the incident he remarks: 'This was a piece of honesty we hardly expected, though I must say that during the whole time we were there, and although many things were left loose and scattered about in such a manner as to afford all opportunity to the natives, nothing went astray.'

At Spuzzum, 'the boundary-line between the Hacamaugh and the Achinrow nations,' two divisions of the Salish whom we know better under the names of Thompsons and Cowitchins, Fraser was hospitably entertained, he tells us, 'with fresh salmon, boiled, green, and dried berries, oil and onions.' He also describes some tombs he saw here: 'These tombs are superior to anything of the kind I saw among savages; they are fifteen feet long, and of the form of a chest of drawers. Upon the boards and posts are beasts and birds carved in a curious but rude manner, yet pretty well proportioned.' Passing downwards he arrives at the first village of the 'Achinrow' nation, 'where,' he says, 'we were received with as much kindness as if we had been lost relations. Neat mats were spread for our reception, and plenty of salmon in wooden dishes was placed before us. . . . They have rugs made from the wool of the wild goat and from dogs' hair, which are as good as the wool rugs found in Canada. We observed that the dogs were lately shorn.' A little further down the river he speaks of a new tomb which he saw 'supported on carved posts; the sculptures were neatly finished, and the posts were spangled over with bright shells which shined like mercury.' Here they made rugs of dogs' hair 'with stripes of different colours, crossing at right angles and resembling, at a distance, a Highland plaid.' The Indians 'evinced no kind of surprise or curiosity at seeing us, nor were they afraid of our arms, so that they must have seen white people before from below. Their houses are built of cedar planks three or four inches thick, each

plank overlapping the adjoining one a couple of inches. The posts, which are very strong and rudely carved, receive the cross-beam, and the whole range, which is six hundred and forty-six feet long by sixty broad, is under one roof; the front is eighteen feet high, and the covering is slanting. All the compartments, which are separated by partitions, are square except the chief's, which is ninety feet long. In this room the posts or pillars are nearly three feet in diameter at the base, and diminish gradually to the top. In one of these posts is an oval opening answering the purpose of a door, through which one man may crawl in or out. Above, on the outside, are carved a human figure as large as life, as well as other figures in imitation of beasts and birds.' We have given Fraser's description of this house at length because, as will be seen later when we speak of the dwellings of the Salish, it differed in some interesting points from the general type of their dwellings.

The Indians at this village advised Fraser not to proceed further down the river, as the Coastal and Island tribes were 'wicked' and would undoubtedly attack him. They even went so far as to attempt to prevent him from proceeding by force. But he embarked in spite of them and proceeded on his course and finally reached the settlements of the 'Misquiame' at the main mouth of the river. Here he saw a great fort fifteen hundred feet long and ninety feet broad. Although permitted to land, he was advised to turn back, and the unfriendly attitude of the natives and his lack of provisions prompted him to act upon this

advice, though he was deeply disappointed at not seeing the 'Main Ocean.' While here he was satisfied that he was not on the Columbia, and exclaims, 'This river is not the Columbia, as we thought; and if I had known it sooner I would never have undertaken its navigation.'

Following the discoveries of Mackenzie and Fraser the North-West Fur Company sent its agents across the Rockies into the newly-discovered territory, to be known first of all as New Caledonia, and afterwards as British Columbia; and they established the first permanent settlement of the whites among the natives. Later, in 1821-22, this company coalesced with its rival, the Hudson's Bay Company. Under the new organisation the new territories were mapped out into fur districts, each with its own trading-post. To these trading-centres the Indians brought their stores of furs, exchanging them for such articles of barter as took their fancy. Coin was never used in these transactions, the unit of value everywhere being a prime beaver-skin weighing just one pound.

In this manner, by their contact and intercourse with the officers of the Fur Companies, the natives received their first lesson in civilisation. The Hudson's Bay Company through their employees ever treated the Indians with uniform kindness and justice; and it is largely owing to their beneficent and enlightened policy that the early history of this region is free from those deeds of horror and bloodshed which darken the pages of the history of the settlement of the lands farther south. Uprisings of the natives against the

settlers, raids and forays on their settlements or property are events altogether unknown in the early history of British Columbia. As long as the country was under the rule of the Fur Companies the Indians lived much as did their forefathers, and beyond performing certain occasional services for the Posts, they were free to come and go and live where they pleased. But when, in 1858, the Home Government revoked the grant which it had made to the Hudson's Bay Company twenty years before—by which the Company was given control of the lands west of the Rocky Mountains and the rights of exclusive trading and dealing with the natives—and the country became a Crown colony, the Indians naturally came under the jurisdiction of the Crown officers; and when the colony was opened up for settlement, certain lands and localities were set aside for their use and occupancy. Later, in 1870, when the country was transformed from a Crown colony into a Province of the Dominion, the Indians became wards of the Federal Government, and their lands and affairs passed to the control of the Indian Department. This Department is under the general superintendence of one of the Ministers of State, usually of the Minister of the Interior. Under him there is a Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian affairs, who has the direct control of all matters concerning the natives and their general welfare. Each province has its own Superintendent, who is assisted in his duties by a number of local Indian agents and other officers.

The treatment of the Indians by the Department

has always been just and humane, with the result that wars and disturbances of the peace have but rarely occurred, and the native races of the Dominion may now be classed among the most peaceable and law-abiding of his Majesty's subjects. Industrial, boarding, and ordinary day schools have of late years been established in different centres among them, and the present generation of Indians is fast fitting itself for the conditions of modern civilised life. Many of the tribes live to-day in well-ordered villages with lighted streets and waterworks systems of their own, and are better housed and have more comforts than the average European peasant. The men of the tribes engage regularly in fishing and lumbering or in agriculture and stock raising, and their outlook for the future is by no means a discouraging one.

Truth, however, compels one to say that a backward glance over the history and condition of the native races of the province as a whole since our advent among them does not present so satisfactory a picture; and one is obliged to confess that contact with the white man has not been everywhere an unmixed blessing for the Indian. The transition from the old order of things to the new was in the main too abrupt and radical, and the race has suffered accordingly, notwithstanding the benevolent care of the Government. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than in the high death-rate and the consequent diminution of their numbers. The whole native population of the Province to-day numbers scarcely 25,000; and though we have no definite knowledge of the extent of the

population when we first occupied the country, the estimates of the early settlers, the traditions of the Indians themselves, and the number of deserted and abandoned villages, that, in the memory of those now living, formerly contained hundreds of inhabitants, all indicate that five times that number, or 125,000, would not be an excessive estimate of the total native population during the first half of the last century.

Referring now more particularly to the Salish tribes under British rule, my own investigations among this people, conducted over a series of years, leaves no room for doubt in my mind that the present Salish population of approximately 12,000 does not represent nearly a fifth of the population of this stock at the time of Simon Fraser's visit to them. One tribe alone, the Lukungen, whose settlements are at the south-eastern end of Vancouver's Island, was estimated in 1859 to number 8,500. To-day they could not muster 200, or less than one-fortieth of their former numbers. The neighbouring Cowitchin tribes about forty years ago numbered 5,005 souls; to-day they do not reach 800. This frightful death-rate has not been confined to the Salish tribes; the others have suffered proportionately. That moribund race, the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands, numbered in 1840, according to estimates based on reliable information, 8,328. Twenty years ago the number had dwindled to 2000, and to-day the total native population of the islands would not exceed 700. Father Morice has the same to say of the Déné, whose total population at the present time is less, he

says, than one-tenth of what it was when Mackenzie first passed through their country.

Speaking, therefore, with all caution and reserve, it may fairly be said that the total native population of to-day represents very little more than one-tenth of what it was when we first came in contact with the Indians a little more than a century ago.

The principal cause of this excessive mortality is alcoholism. Chief among the secondary causes are smallpox, syphilis, and pneumonia.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NATIVE RACES

THE aborigines of the American continent have been known to us ever since the days of Columbus by the name of Indians. They were given this name under the mistaken idea that they were natives of India, the intrepid Genoese navigator being under the impression that he could reach that marvellous land of the East by braving the unknown waters of the Western Ocean.

As soon as it was once definitely ascertained that the land discovered by Columbus formed no portion of India, speculation concerning the origin of the natives of the New World became rife. Whence had they come, and what was their former history? One author thinks they must be Trojan refugees who had fled thither and found a haven of refuge after the sack of Troy, because he fancied he detected a word in their language which had a Græco-Roman sound. This word was *pasco-pan*, and from it he drew the inference that they were acquainted with the classic god Pan. Another connects them with those early navigators, the Phœnicians; another brings them from China; and others again make them Jews, and see in them the lost ten tribes of Israel. But the most naïve and whimsical of all the origins suggested for them is

that propounded by Dr. Cotton Mather, a learned divine of the eighteenth century. He declares that the appearance of man on the American continent was due to the direct agency of the Evil One, who, seeing in the early spread of Christianity the loss of his power over mankind, conceived the brilliant idea of seducing a portion of the race to the New World where, in the language of the learned author, they would lie hid and be out of sound of the silver trumpet of the Gospel, and where he would have them entirely for his own to the end of time!

Modern inquiry, conducted on somewhat different lines, has resulted in showing us that whatever may have been the origin of the native races of the New World they have been dwellers there for a very long period of time, compared with which, the Siege of Troy was a matter of the day before yesterday. The remains of primitive implements of rude form in strata which are clearly of ancient formation, and of hearth-sites associated with bones of extinct species of the horse and other animals now unknown, make this very certain. The distinguished Americanist, Dr. Brinton, held the opinion that American man was present and active, using tools and fire during the Inter-Glacial Period; and that he had spread over the continent, and lived in both North and South America at the close of the Glacial Age he regarded as beyond any doubt.

When we first came in contact with them they occupied the whole continent from end to end. We found them segregated into numerous tribes and

nations characterised by all degrees of culture from the rudest savagery of Tierra del Fuego to the comparatively advanced refinement and civilisation of Mexico and Peru, and exhibiting a diversity of languages truly bewildering.

Of late years scholars have given much attention and study to them, and they have been ranged or classified into distinct groups on the basis of their language.

Taking this classification for the native races under our own rule, we find that we have ten separate stocks or nations in British North America. These are known to us under the following names:—

1. Beothuk.
2. Haida.
3. Tsimshean.
4. Kwakiutl-Nootka.
5. Algonquin.
6. Iroquois.
7. Eskimo or Innuit.
8. Kooteney.
9. Déné or Athapascan.
10. Salish.

Of these the first four only dwell entirely within British territory, the habitats of the other six extending beyond our boundaries into the States of the American Union or into Alaska.

The present volume is concerned with the two last-named—the Déné and the Salish.

The Salish tribes of British Columbia are usually divided by ethnological students into eleven linguistic groups or divisions, but for the purposes of treatment in this volume a threefold division will be more convenient. This grouping is mainly geographical and cultural and comprises

1. The Interior tribes.
2. The Delta tribes.
3. The Coastal tribes.

The first includes the Shuswaps, the Lillooets, the Okanagons and the Thompsons. These occupy the whole of the southern interior of the province south of the Déné territory and west of the Kooteneys.

The second includes the numerous Halkomelem tribes which extend from the western boundaries of the interior group to the mouth of the Fraser River, whose lower valley constitutes the territory or habitat of this division.

The third takes in all the tribes whose settlements are on the coast and adjacent islands. A glance at the accompanying ethnographical chart will give the reader a clear idea of the territory occupied by these three divisions and their position relatively to each other, and the rest of the stocks under our rule.

The Salish stock or nation, as already intimated, is one of those whose habitat is not confined to British territory. The International Boundary Line cuts the stock into two nearly equal halves, and groups of Salish are found in the four adjacent states of Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Oregon. The tribes living on this side of the Line have not been so closely studied as those on our own side, and less is known of them, but we may safely conclude that their culture in the main resembles that of the tribes in British territory with which we have to deal. According to the

most reliable estimate, the Salish of British Columbia number at the present time about 12,000.

The wide-spread Dené stock is usually divided into two greater divisions—a northern and a southern. With the latter we shall have nothing to do, as it lies wholly beyond our rule in the south-western States of the American Union and the border States of Mexico. In point of numbers the southern division stands first with a total of about 25,000, the total of the Northern Dené being between 15,000 and 16,000 only.

The Northern or British American Dené are usually divided into twelve distinct groups. These are:

| Groups. | Habitat. |
|---|---|
| Loucheux, . . | Lower Mackenzie River and Alaska. |
| Hares, . . . | Mackenzie, Anderson, and MacFarlane Rivers. |
| Bad-people, . . | Old Fort Halkett. |
| Slaves, . . . | West of Great Slave Lake and Mackenzie River. |
| Dog-Ribs, . . | Between Great Slave Lake and Great Bear Lake. |
| Yellow Knives, . | North-east of Great Slave Lake. |
| Caribou-Eaters, . | East of Lake Athabaska. |
| Chippewayans, . | Lake Athabaska. |
| Sikani, . . . | Both sides of the Rocky Mountains. |

A TYPICAL FACE (SARCEE INDIAN)

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 35

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sub-tribes of Sikani | Beavers, | South side of Peace River. |
| | Sarcees, | East of Rocky Mountains, 51° lat. north and south. |
| Nahane, . . . | | Stickeen River and eastward. |
| Carriers, . . . | | Stuart's Lake, north and south B.C. |
| Chilcotin, . . | | Chilcotin River, B.C. |

Each of these groups is subdivided into a number of local bands or communities. A glance at the chart will show the wide extent of territory they collectively occupy.

It has been said that an Indian taken from one portion of the continent could easily be mistaken for an inhabitant of some other portion. This is because of the strong facial resemblance the natives commonly bear to one another. This general likeness, this distinctive pan-American visage, would seem to consist in the main of a well-formed, ovaloid face, in which a decidedly aquiline and somewhat pointed nose forms the chief feature, dark eyes and hair, and a skin the hue or colour of which is commonly called red or coppery, but which is really a brown, with an undertone of red running through it. This general type seems to exist all over the continent, but variations from it are numerous, and some of these are so extreme as to point to the existence of a secondary type. This second type is, in most of its features, the direct antithesis of the primary or truly American type. It is characterised by an unusual breadth of face, the nose is concave and spreading, the cheek-

bones high and prominent, the mouth coarse, and the colour a palish yellow.

In British Columbia we seem to meet with a cast of countenance that partakes of the characters of both types, approximating here more nearly to the characteristic American type and there to the adventitious or so called Mongoloid type. A glance at the plates accompanying this chapter will make this very clear.

Speaking generally, the interior tribes show a closer affiliation to the normal type than do those of the coastal region, but all degrees of blending of the two types appear in both groups, both as to features and colouring.

Apart from these characteristic facial resemblances, there do not appear to be any other marked physical features common to the whole race.

The colour of the hair is found to vary considerably, ranging from a deep black to an auburn or reddish shade. Among some of the Indians of British Columbia, a reddish tinge in the hair is not at all uncommon, and among the Déné quite light or fair hair has been observed by Father Morice in circumstances which totally preclude the idea of intermixture with the whites. Generally the hair of the Indians is straight and coarse, but instances of wavy or even slightly curled hair occur. This is particularly noticeable among some of the Salish. The growth is generally thick and strong on the head, but scanty on the face and body. The eyebrows are invariably thick and well-marked. Among many tribés, notably among

A DÉNÉ WITH MARKED MONGOLOID FEATURES

the Salish, they are carefully trimmed. One of the puberty rites or ceremonies in some tribes of this stock is the special treatment of the eyebrows. All the straggling or uneven hairs are plucked out one by one, and the brows are anointed with the spittle of the pubescent girl. This is supposed to hinder their growth thereafter. Of the eyes, some are large and wide open; some are small and narrow; some have horizontal and some have oblique openings, but the former is the more general type. The iris is invariably of a dark brown colour, and seems to melt into the pupil, rendering it difficult to distinguish where the one begins and the other ends. This is particularly noticeable in the eyes of the young. The teeth of the Indians, like those of other primitive races generally, are invariably good, uniform and sound, though toothache was not altogether unknown among them even before they took to eating the white man's food. In the mouths of elderly persons, particularly among the coastal tribes, they are seen to be ground down much like the teeth of an aged horse. This is caused by the grit or sand which gets into their food when drying or curing it, especially into the salmon, of which they eat large quantities.

The divisions of the Salish afford an excellent example of the modifying effects which habitat and mode of life have upon a people.

The interior Salish tribes are landsmen and hunters, and from time immemorial have been accustomed to follow their game over a mountainous country. This mode of life has engendered among them an active,

slender, athletic type of men; and they are considerably taller and possess a much finer physique than their congeners of the coastal region, who are fishermen, passing the larger portion of their time on the water squatting in their canoes, never walking to any place if they can possibly reach it by water. The typical coast Salish are a squat thick-set people, with disproportionate legs and bodies, slow and heavy in their movements, and as unlike their brothers of the interior as it is possible for them to be.

When we first came into contact with the Salish tribes we found that many of them, particularly the delta and coastal tribes, had a curious habit of deforming their heads; the effect of which was at times to give them a very singular appearance. This habit was found also among some of the tribes to the north and south of them. Three distinct types of cranial contortion prevailed. These have been designated by Dr. Franz Boas, who has made a study of the subject, as the Chinook, the Cowitchin, and the Koskeemo. The first was found in the region of the Columbia River, principally among the Chinook and Cowlitz Indians. The second was practised by the coast and delta Salish, and the third in its most characteristic forms by the Koskeemo, a Kwakiutl division living at Kwatzino Sound on the north-west portion of Vancouver's Island.

Among the latter the head was deformed by means of constricting bands wound tightly round its posterior portions, pressure being brought to bear at the same time upon the frontal region; the effect of which was

A Family Group, Coast Salish

*Photo by C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.*

*To face page 38*

to elongate the head to an extraordinary and unsightly degree. Among the Chinook the cranium was excessively flattened, the forehead being severely depressed and the occiput made to project far backwards. There was also a lateral extension of the skull, but this was a feature of the Cowitchin type as well. Here the pressure was mainly frontal and occipital, the common practice being to flatten or depress the anterior portion of the head, and thus give a backward slant to the forehead. The flattening of the occipital region was more incidental than intentional, and was caused by the pressure upon the forehead forcing the occiput against the cradle-board, the deformation being always effected during the cradle-life of the individual. Among some tribes the flattening was effected by boards, amongst others by bands or cushions of 'slowi,' the inner bark of the cedar made soft and fine by beating. The 'style' of deformation varied considerably among the coastal Salish, in some instances approximating to the Koskeemo type, in others to the Chinook type. Among the Squamish a band of 'slowi' was laid across the child's forehead, and held there by thongs fastened to the bottom of the cradle; another pad was then tied across the top of the head just back of the coronal suture to prevent the pressure forcing the head in that direction. The effect of this threefold pressure on front, top, and back was to give a peculiarly receding sweep to the frontal bone, a flattening to the occipital region, and produce a compensatory bulge of the head sideways; the result of which was to make the head appear abnormally short and the face unusually broad.

Among the neighbouring Sechelt tribes the coronal pad or cushion was omitted, or rather was placed further back on the lambda, with the result that the top of the head was forced upwards into a decided transverse ridge, like the roof of a house, giving a most singular aspect to the individual when the head was uncovered. This 'style of head' was apparently more common among women than men, the most extreme cases I have personally observed being always those of women. The object of these deformations was in all instances to give, what the natives considered, a more beautiful and desirable form to the head, the normal contours not being pleasing to their eyes; and the practice affords an excellent illustration of the truth of the dictum that beauty is not an absolute, but a relative quality, the standard of which varies from age to age and from people to people.

The practice among some of the Salish seems to have had a definite social, as well as an æsthetic, significance. There appear to have been recognised degrees of contortion marking the social status of the individual. For example slaves, of which the Salish kept considerable numbers, were prohibited from deforming the heads of their children at all, consequently a normal, undeformed head was the sign and badge of servitude. And in the case of the base-born of the tribes the heads of their children were customarily but slightly deformed, while the heads of the children born of wealthy or noble persons, and particularly those of chiefs, were severely and excessively deformed.

A Déné Youth

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 40

It might be thought that such severe contortion of the brain-case would injuriously affect the brain itself, but such does not seem to have been the case. Some of the most noted men of this region were chiefs whose heads were excessively deformed. The Chief of the Chinook Indians, who lived about the settlement of Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia river, one of the earliest trading-posts on the north-west coast, was one of the most astute Indians the early traders ever came into contact with, and his head is said to have been hideous in its extreme deformation.

We find the same approximation to the characteristic American type among the more eastern of the Déné tribes, and to the sporadic Mongoloid type among the north-western as is observable among the Salish, though taking the stock as a whole, it may be said that the latter type is predominant.

We possess several specific descriptions of the physical peculiarities of the different portions of this stock made by different observers at different times.

The most comprehensive description of the physical characteristics of the British Columbia Déné is that given us by the Rev. Father Morice, a close observer and scholarly missionary, who has long resided among the Carrier tribe. Speaking of the Sikani, who live on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, he writes thus :—

'The Sikani are slender and bony, in stature rather below the average, with a narrow forehead, hollow cheeks, prominent cheek-bones, small eyes deeply sunk in their orbit, the upper lip very thin, and the

lower somewhat protruding, the chin very small and the nose straight.' Of the Carriers he writes thus: 'Now the Carriers are tall and stout, without, as a rule, being too corpulent. The men especially average 1m. 660mm. in height. Their forehead is much broader than that of the Sikani, and less receding than is usual with American aborigines. Their face is full, with a nose generally aquiline and in every case better formed than that of their heterogeneous neighbours; their lips are thicker and their chin more prominent than those of the Sikani. Their eyes are also much larger, and of a very deep black. Baldness, though rare, is sometimes noticed among them, while a few are literally obese. I am very much mistaken if two crania, one of an individual of each of these tribes, would not be pronounced by a craniologist as belonging to representatives of diametrically different races.' Of another division of this stock, the Chilcotin, he writes: 'The Chilcotin, on the other hand, are short in stature, broad-faced, and broad-shouldered, with prominent cheek-bones, heavy jaws, and a nose which is not uncommonly thick and flattish. They may be said to have some physical resemblance to the Chinese. This description applies also to the Babines, who might be considered as a branch of the Carriers. The only points in common between the three tribes are the dark eyes, the black, coarse, and straight hair, and the small hands and feet. Large hands and feet, however, are occasionally met with among Carrier men. I do not speak of the complexion, because it varies even in the same tribe according to the occupation

A Déné Belle in Native Poncho

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 42

and food of the natives. Even in the matter of beard a notable difference is observable, inasmuch as full beards dark and close, heavy with hardly any shaving, are by no means rare among the Babines sub-tribe, while the rest of the western Dénés are remarkable for the scarcity, or sometimes the total absence, of facial hair.'

Of the physical characteristics of the Eastern Déné Mr. B. Ross writes thus: 'The eastern tribes are of middle stature, squarely and strongly built. They have no particular cast of features other than the large and high cheek-bones. The usual noses are the snub and bottle kind, with a sprinkling of aquilines. Their eyes are mostly of a very dark brown hazel, varied with lighter tints of the same colour and with black; and they are often placed obliquely in their heads.'

In all moral qualities, save that of courage, the Indians of British Columbia rank high; in point of valour they fall far below the eastern tribes; and while some are braver and better fighters than others, not one of the stocks can be said to be really warlike. This is conspicuously the case in regard to the stocks under consideration. In earlier days the coastal and delta Salish were kept in perpetual fear and trembling by a single tribe of marauding Kwakiutls who made periodic forays upon their villages, routing and slaughtering the men and carrying off the women and children into slavery. So dreaded was this band, and so timid and pusillanimous the Salish men, that when the whites first settled in their midst they would come running to them like frightened children upon

the first rumour of the approach of their foes, and beg to be protected from them. Parties of these Kwakiutls would ascend the Fraser in their war canoes as far as the cañons of Yale, passing scores of populated Salish villages on their way, the men of which often outnumbered them, two to one; they would attack some camp, gather up their captives and return with them and their booty, unhindered and unscathed. The interior Salish who, as we have seen, are a finer people than those of the coast and delta, do not appear to have been so cowardly. Though they protected themselves with palisaded forts they were always ready to defend their homes and property from the attacks of their foes. But most of the Déné were no better than the coast and delta Salish. Father Morice speaks most strongly of their timidity and cowardice. He writes:—

'The Northern Déné are generally pusillanimous, timid and cowardly . . . Even among our Carriers, the proudest and most progressive of all the western tribes; hardly any summer passes but some party runs home panic stricken, and why? They have heard at some little distance some "men of the woods" evidently animated by murderous designs and have barely escaped with their lives. Thereupon great commotion and tumult in the camp. Immediately everybody is charitably warned not to venture alone in the forest, and after sunset every door is carefully locked against any possible intruder.'

Mr. Bernard R. Ross, the Hudson's Bay factor, writes also in the same strain in his manuscript:

TYPICAL PLAIN INDIANS

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

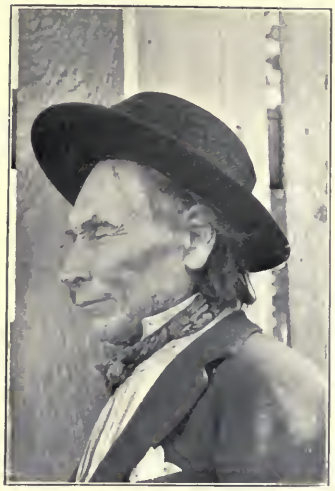
*To face page* 44

'As a whole,' he says, 'the race under consideration is unwarlike. The Chepewyans, Beavers, and Yellow-Knives are much braver than the remaining tribes. I have never known, in my long residence among this people, of arms having been resorted to in conflict. In most cases their mode of personal combat is a species of wrestling, and consists in the opponents grasping each other's long hair. Knives are almost invariably laid aside previous to the contest. I am disposed to consider this peaceful disposition proceeds more from timidity than from any actual disinclination to shed blood . . . The fear of enemies, when in these peaceful times there are none to dread, is a remarkable trait of the timidity which so strongly influences the minds of the Eastern Dené. It is, I conjecture, a traditional recollection of the days when the Knisteneaux or Crees made annual forays into the country of the Dené, pushing so far as Bear River in search of scalps and plunder . . . A strange footprint, or any unusual sound in the forest is quite sufficient to cause great excitement in the camp. At Fort Resolution I have on several occasions caused all the natives encamped around to flock for protection into the fort during the night by simply whistling, hidden in the bushes.'

Apart, however, from this weakness, more physical than moral, their other virtues stand out conspicuously. They are proverbial for their honesty and for their hospitality, and were in pre-trading days also for their chastity. Father de Smet has the following to say of the Kooteneys, which to a large extent applies to all

the stocks, or rather did when we first came into contact with them, but particularly to the Salish. 'The beau-ideal of the Indian character, uncontaminated by contact with the whites, is found among them. What is most pleasing to the stranger is to see their simplicity, united with sweetness and innocence, keep step with the most perfect dignity and modesty of deportment. The gross vices which dishonour the red man on the frontiers are utterly unknown among them. They are honest to scrupulosity. The Hudson's Bay Company during forty years that it has been trading in furs with them has never been able to perceive that the smallest object has been stolen from them. The agent takes his furs down to Colville every spring and does not return before autumn. During his absence the store is confided to the care of an Indian, who trades in the name of the company, and on the return of the agent renders him a most exact account of his trust. The store often remains without any one to watch it, the door unlocked and unbolted, and the goods are never stolen. The Indians go in and out, help themselves to what they want, and always scrupulously leave in place of what ever article they take its exact value.'

Father Morice has much the same to say of the Northern Déné. He writes: 'A noteworthy quality of the Northern Déné, especially of such as have remained untouched by modern civilisation, is their great honesty. Among the Sikani a trader will sometimes go on a trapping expedition, leaving his store unlocked, without fear of any of its contents going



A SALISH CHIEF

A SALISH GRANDMOTHER

*Photo by* Edwards, Bros., Vancouver, B.C.

A SALISH BOY

A SALISH WOMAN

*To face page* 47

amiss. Meantime a native may call in his absence, help himself to as much powder and shot or any other item as he may need, but he will never fail to leave there an exact equivalent in furs.'

Fraser was much impressed with the honesty of the Salish with whom he came in contact, and every one else who had anything to do with them in the early days also speaks in the highest terms of their honesty and faithfulness.

But it is not necessary to go far afield to learn what their character was before the settlement of the country by ourselves; it is plainly revealed in their folk-tales and tribal traditions.

These show us that their lives were moral and well regulated; that deep shame and disgrace followed a lapse from virtue in the married and unmarried of both sexes. The praise and enjoinment of virtue, self-discipline and abstinence in young men is no less clearly brought out; whilst the respect and consideration paid by the young everywhere to their elders affords an example that more advanced races might with profit copy.

We are sometimes too prone to imagine that life among primitive peoples is wholly debased and vile, and that paganism has no virtues of its own. That nothing can be farther from the facts of the case, the ethical precepts and teachings of such people as the Salish make perfectly clear. Following are some of these precepts as held and taught by the Thompsons:—

It is bad to steal.

People will despise you and say you are poor.

They will laugh at you and will not live with you. They will not trust you ; they will call you 'thief.'

It is bad to be unvirtuous.

It will make your friends ashamed of you, and you will be laughed at and gossiped about. No one will want to make you his wife.

It is bad to lie.

People will laugh at you, and when you tell them anything they will not believe what you say. They will call you 'liar.'

It is bad to be lazy.

You will always be poor and no woman will care for you. You will have few clothes, and you will be called 'lazy one.'

It is bad to commit adultery.

People will avoid you and gossip about you. Your friends and children will be ashamed, and people will laugh and scoff at them. You will be disgraced or divorced. You will be called 'adulterer.'

It is bad to boast if you are not great.

People will dislike you and laugh at you. They will call you 'coyote,' 'proud' or 'vain.'

It is bad to be cowardly.

People will laugh at you, insult you, and mock you. They will impose upon you and trade with you without paying. Women will not want you for a husband ; they will call you 'woman' and 'coward.'

It is bad to be inhospitable or stingy.

People will be stingy to you, will shun you and will gossip about you, and call you 'stingy one.'

It is bad to be quarrelsome.

People will have no dealings with you; they will avoid and dislike you. Your wives will leave you; you will be called 'bad,' 'family quarreller,' 'angry one.'

It is good to be pure and cleanly.

It is good to be honest, truthful, and faithful.

It is good to be brave, industrious, and grateful.

It is good to be hospitable, liberal and friendly.

It is good to be modest and sociable.

Your family and friends will be proud of you, and everybody will admire and esteem you.

People who inculcate such sound practical morality and such virtues in the minds of their children as these can scarcely be called debased, or be said to be greatly in need of instruction from ourselves.

It is true that the Thompsons represented the Salish at their highest and best, both morally and physically, but similar precepts and virtues were taught in most tribes before the days of our advent; and if they have fallen away from these high standards, as we fear they have, the fault is not theirs but ours. They have but followed what they have observed among ourselves; they have been only too truly receptive of our superior civilisation in all its phases. Receptiveness is one of their most striking qualities, and they adopt in wholesale fashion the customs and modes of life they observe among ourselves. The same may be said of

the Déné; and it would be difficult indeed to find two peoples more susceptible to foreign influences, more receptive of new ideas, and more ready and willing to adopt and carry them out. We assumed a grave responsibility when we undertook to civilise these races.

Old-time Salish Dwelling

*Photo by* Maynard, Victoria, B.C.

*To face page* 50

# CHAPTER III

## HABITATIONS

AMONG the sedentary, fish-eating Salish of the coast and lower delta the characteristic dwelling was the communal long-house, a class of structure admirably suited to their conditions of life and climate. These buildings, which were always erected close to the river or sea, were constructed of broad, thick slabs or planks of cedar, split from the trunk by means of elk-horn and maple-wood wedges. This tree lends itself readily to operations of this kind, easily splitting with the grain into smooth boards or planks of any desired thickness. Both walls and roof were formed from these planks.

The width of these houses was usually eight 'span' or forty-eight feet. Occasionally they exceeded this measurement, as, for instance, in the case of that seen by Fraser, which was ten 'span' or sixty feet broad. In length they varied with the nature of the ground and number to inhabit them. In the more populous tribes, and where the nature of the camp-site permitted it, these structures extended, not infrequently, in an unbroken line for upwards of six hundred feet, reaching in one instance known to me to over a thousand feet. Houses of two and three hundred feet were very ordinary dwellings.

One marked peculiarity of all these dwellings,

whether single or double, was the exceedingly low pitch of their roofs. This was undoubtedly caused by the great width of the buildings. To insure a good slant in the roof of a house fifty to sixty feet wide, constructed on the single slope principle, meant having a high face-wall, one very much higher than the Indians needed or desired, consequently they gave only such pitch to their roofs as was actually necessary to shed the rain, the disadvantage of a possible leak being more than counterbalanced by their usefulness as platforms upon occasions of public festivity such as 'potlatch' gatherings, naming feasts, etc. Speeches were customarily made and presents distributed from these vantage grounds. In one of the accompanying plates, which shows a group of these old-time dwellings, though somewhat modified in their exteriors by having the boards nailed by the white man's nails instead of being tied between the old-fashioned stakes, we may see an example of this use. The photograph from which this plate was made was taken forty years ago on the occasion of a potlatch gathering. The piles of blankets and other gifts about to be distributed are clearly seen on the roofs together with a large number of persons.

The sections or compartments into which these communal buildings were divided, and which were occupied by the various related family groups, forming the local community, each of which was commonly split up into three or four fire-circles, were shut off from one another among the coast Salish by temporary hangings or mats made of reeds and swamp grasses; these could

Long-houses of the Coast Salish

*Photo by Maynard, Victoria, B.C.*

*To face page 52*

be removed at will if occasion required, and all the sections thrown into one large common room or hall. This was always done among the lower delta and coastal tribes during the Smäitlas, or winter dancing season, which lasted through one whole moon corresponding approximately to our month of December. Among the upper delta tribes, where the Smäitlas was not in vogue, the sections were divided off from each other by permanent walls.

In all these buildings it was customary to cover the whole of the inside walls during the winter months with reed mats. It was also customary in most tribes to build all along the walls a kind of low platform. On this the inmates slept on beds made of successive layers of bulrush mats, one end of which was ordinarily rolled up to form a head-rest or pillow. Sometimes pillows of 'slowi' were used. The bed-clothes in all the tribes consisted usually of dog or mountain-goat hair blankets, and the skins of their game animals cured with the hair on.

Beneath these sleeping platforms the inmates stored their winter's supply of roots in some localities, in others their firewood. Above, over their heads, were suspended from the rafters hanging-shelves. On these they packed away their dried meats, fruit, and fish. In one of the coast tribes, known as the Sechelt, in the place of these hanging-shelves small permanent cubicles were built, in which the boys and girls of the tribe were separately secluded for a period of ten days on their arriving at puberty. This tribe needed no hanging shelves, as the people 'cached' all their supplies in

the forest for fear of their marauding neighbours the Kwakiutl bands of whom we have spoken before, who made periodic attacks upon the Sechelt villagers and carried off all they could lay their hands on.

Of furniture in our sense of the word the Indians had little or none, unless we class their treasure-chests as such. These were boxes or trunks skilfully constructed from cedar. The body or sides of the trunk were formed from a single board so cut, on the inner face where three of the corners would be, that it could be bent into a regular rectangular shape without breaking or cracking. The fourth corner was formed by the meeting of the two ends of the board which were always nicely mitred so as to fit snugly and evenly together. These ends were then fastened by sewing or stitching from the inside. The bottom, which was hollowed out of one piece of wood in the shape of a shallow tray, was put in from the inside of the box, its shallow sides fitting close to those of the box, to which they were sewn from the inside so that no sign of the stitching was visible from the outside.

The lid or cover was similarly constructed only in this case its shallow sides overlapped the edges of the box which fitted into a channel or groove cut in the inner side of the top for that purpose. These boxes or chests were so beautifully put together that they would easily hold water without leaking. They were in common use among all the coastal tribes. Among the Salish the outer faces of these receptacles were always left plain and unadorned, but among their more artistic northern neighbours totemic figures and designs

were invariably carved in relief upon them and these again coloured with various pigments or stains.

These chests were ordinarily about three feet long, two feet wide, and two and a half feet deep. In them the Indians stored away the family treasures, ceremonial costumes, stores of blankets, which every well-to-do family sought to amass for 'potlatch' purposes, and any other 'valuables.'

Almost every fire-circle would possess one or more of these treasure-chests, and a noble or chief would sometimes own more than a score of them.

The common household property consisted in the main of cooking utensils and vessels for holding or serving the food such as cooking-stones and fire-tongs, the basket-pots, water-baskets, root- and fruit-baskets, dishes, platters, dippers, spoons, serving-plaques, and mats.

The interior Salish had two distinct classes of dwelling, one for summer and one for winter occupation. The former, which was the general dwelling for the greater part of the year, was a light and easily constructed frame-lodge formed by a gable-roof resting on the ground.

The floor was covered with small fir-branches, which were spread more thickly near the wall where the people slept. The fire was in the middle of the lodge; the doorway was a space three feet by five feet or less left in the lower row of mats, over which was hung a piece of mat, skin, or blanket, a little larger than the whole, and stiffened at the lower end by a thin piece of stick.

To accommodate large numbers such as gather at potlatches, fishing-places, etc., the Indians made use of large lodges closed or covered at the back, but open in front. Besides these the Upper and Lower Thompsons used the hunting-lodge. Its shape is that of the square lodge, but larger, with heavier poles.

Another lodge, generally used but once, is the 'brush-house,' thrown up temporarily by hunting parties in the winter or early spring, and consisting of a square or conical framework of light poles, covered with fir or spruce branches.

The second class of dwellings, the winter-lodges, were of a more massive and permanent kind than those just described. These were circular, mound-like, semi-subterranean huts, which, like the long-houses of the coast and delta tribes, varied in their dimensions according to the nature of the village-site and the number of the families to inhabit them. The diameter of some structures was as small as fifteen feet, while others stretched to sixty feet; but in general they had a diameter of from twenty-five to thirty feet. A hut of this size commonly accommodated from twenty to thirty persons.

Several related families usually occupied the same dwelling in common, each family having its own section, and, in the larger structures, its own fireplace. The entrance to these winter houses was in the apex of the roof, through the smoke-hole, by means of a notched pole. The floor of these dwellings, except around the hearth site, was kept covered with fir and spruce branches. These were renewed from time to

SUMMER LODGES OF INTERIOR SALISH

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 56

time, and always when some guest of honour was expected. Layers of the same material covered with skins or grass-mats formed the couches of the inmates. In some tribes hammock beds were used. These were made of buckskin stretched on thongs, which were fastened to the beams of the house. These underground dwellings were, among the Salish, usually occupied from December to March, the 'cold season' of the southern interior of the Province.

All the tribes of this region construct temporary shelters for the use of girls on arriving at womanhood and for women during their periods. They were generally roughly made of brushwood or cedar bark, conical, and just big enough for a single person to sit inside them without discomfort. The occupants of these structures customarily spent their time in making yarn.

The Carrier tribes, living in close proximity to the village-dwelling Salish, had borrowed largely from the social system of their more advanced neighbours, and had as many as five different kinds of dwellings—the ceremonial-lodge, the summer-lodge, the fishing-lodge, the winter-lodge, and, in the southern portions of the tribe, the semi-subterranean hut of the interior Salish.

But, unlike the Thompsons and other Salish, they did not inhabit their permanent villages chiefly through the winter but during the summer or fair-weather season.

The Déné tribes protected themselves from the rigours of the winter by keeping up huge fires night and day in their ordinary winter-lodges, which being

wholly above ground, needed more heat to make them comfortable than did the Salish underground dwellings. But these large fires meant the consumption of considerable quantities of wood, and as the Carriers possessed but few facilities for felling and cutting up trees, and no ready means for its transportation when cut up save the backs of their women, and as the amount of suitable firewood available in any one centre was soon exhausted, one winter at most was as long as they could stay in any one place. Consequently, they were compelled to look for fresh camping quarters every winter, and thus could not establish permanent villages for winter residence. In the summer it was otherwise, and at this season of the year they dwelt together in permanent villages.

The other four kinds of dwellings in use among these tribes seem to be native and peculiar to themselves.

The most important and the most elaborate of these was the ceremonial-lodge, so called because of its being the seat of all their native gatherings, such as feasts, dances and other public festivities.

But it was not reserved exclusively for these purposes; it was also used as the residence of the head-men or nobles of the tribe and their families.

The erection of these buildings was always made the occasion of much feasting and merry-making. Large quantities of dressed skins and blankets were also distributed by the owner of the lodge among those who assisted in the building of it.

These lodges were rectangular in form with gable

roofs having customarily a length of from forty to fifty feet, and a width of about half that distance.

The entrance to these lodges was always in the end. If the structure was a large one, a door would be made in each end. There were no windows, light coming in though the smoke-hole and doors. The fireplace was in the centre of the building. The place of honour in these lodges was at the four main uprights, upon the upper parts of which the totem animal of the owner of the lodge was customarily carved, as was also usually done on the main posts of the long-houses of the Salish.

The inmates of these lodges slept upon beds of undressed skins laid upon spruce boughs placed directly upon the floor, each person lying with his feet towards the fire. There were no partitions of any kind between the different groups, who were all related to each other in these dwellings.

The ordinary summer-lodge varied in several important features from that just described. It was built with only one pair of uprights instead of two as in the larger structures. This was placed in the centre, and the supporting beams formed the ridge-pole of the roof. The walls were also differently constructed. Instead of slabs of spruce, which required much labour and time to prepare, poles were placed horizontally one over the other between sets of double stakes.

The fishing-lodge, inhabited only during the salmon or fishing season, was built upon the lines of the ordinary summer-lodge with this main difference, that the gable ends of the roof were left open to the air and

wind to accelerate the drying of the fish, which were suspended on cross poles. Some of the fishing-lodges have the apex of the front adorned with the carved totem crest of their owners.

The winter-lodges of the Carriers were always carefully built, the greatest attention being paid to the comforts of those about to winter in them. Inside the ground was strewn with small branches of fir or spruce, which were renewed from time to time. Besides the lodge proper there was a kind of semi-circular ante-room attached to one end of it made by leaning a number of poles, placed close together, against the wall of the building. This enclosure served to render the lodge itself warmer and more comfortable, besides being useful in many other ways. Here it was that the old men took their baths, and here also the dogs of the household had their kennels or sleeping-places. Within the structure proper each corner was customarily partitioned off into four little cupboards or store-rooms. These answered to the hanging-shelves and treasure-chests of the coast Salish. Herein were stored the personal belongings and general impedimenta of the different families who shared the house in common, one cupboard going customarily to each family.

Among the Chilcotin and southern Carriers the winter dwelling was a semi-subterranean hut similar to that of the interior Salish.

The characteristic dwellings of all the other nomadic Déné were, and to a large extent still are, the conical skin tepees, the framework of which is simply a number of light poles set in a circle on the ground, and made

NORTHERN DÉNÉ SKIN LODGES

*Photo by C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C*

*To face page 60*

SARCEE SKIN LODGE

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 61

to converge at their upper ends. It is covered with dressed moose or other skins generally sewn together into one piece. The smoke from the fire, which is always placed in the centre of these shelters, escapes through the interstices of the poles at their converging points.

To guard against the entrance of rain or snow here an additional piece of skin is sewn about the upper part of the general covering. This can be manipulated at will, by means of a long pole which is attached to one end of it, and made to act as a shutter to cover, in whole or in part, the smoke-hole, as the condition of the weather or the direction of the wind makes necessary. It will be observed that the Sarcees use the pony as do their Algonquin neighbours the Blackfeet. Farther north among the Dog-Rib tribes we see the moose has been domesticated as a beast of burden. These animals are employed in hauling firewood for the camp in simple kinds of sleighs, and in transporting the camp impedimenta from one camping-ground to another. This work among the northernmost of the Déné tribes—the Loucheux or Kutchin, is done by the women by means of a sleigh which differs in shape from the ordinary conveyance of this kind by having the runners turned up behind as well as before.

In travelling the women haul the skins and poles, the blankets, kettles, etc., on these sleighs. The men customarily set the lodges up after long journeys, but if the move has been a short one the women are expected to do this.

They are set together without any particular order

or arrangement among these tribes, except that the doors all turn one way, to leeward.

The Loucheux lodges appear to differ in some points from those of the other tepee-dwelling tribes east of the Rockies. Mr. Strachan Jones thus describes them: 'Deer-skins are dressed with the hair on and sewed together, forming two large rolls, which are stretched over a frame of bent poles, the lodge is nearly elliptical in form, about twelve or thirteen feet in diameter, and six feet high, very similar to a tea-cup turned bottom upwards. The door is about four feet high and is simply a deer-skin fastened above and hanging down. The hole to allow the smoke to escape is about four feet in diameter. Snow is heaped up outside the edges of the lodge and pine brush spread on the ground inside, the snow having been previously shovelled off with snowshoes. The fire is made in the middle of the lodge, and one or more families, as the case may be, live on each side of the fire, every one having his or her own particular place.'

Very little if any change has taken place in the dwellings of these far northern tribes. They are practically the same to-day as when Sir Alexander Mackenzie visited them over a century ago.

# CHAPTER IV

## DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

WEST of the coast range less clothing was worn at all times and by all classes than in the interior. The typical male costume of the coast and lower delta Salish consisted simply of a breech-cloth and leggings. To this was added on formal occasions or in chilly weather, a roughly made deer or bear-skin cloak, or a blanket worn over the shoulders toga-fashion. Men of lazy and thriftless habits, and male slaves, often wore nothing but an apron or breech-cloth; and everybody commonly went bare-headed and bare-footed. Chiefs and men of wealth would sometimes possess a buck-skin shirt or tunic, but this article of clothing was not in common use in this region.

The clothing of a typical woman of rank was a dressed doe-skin shroud or smock which reached from the shoulders to the knees. This was often decorated with fringes strung with beads and shells.

Among some of the island tribes a plaited conical hat with broad, sloping brim was sometimes used, but more often they went bare-headed. Women of inferior rank wore only short petticoats woven from the inner bark of the cedar, which was prepared for this purpose by beating it on a block with mallets with serrated

faces made for the purpose. When the bark was beaten soft and fine it was spun into coarse yarn by rolling it with the palm of the hand on the bare leg above the knee. From this yarn thus prepared they wove their short skirts. The native blanket was commonly made from a mixture of mountain-goat wool and dog-hair. The latter was of a fleecy nature, white in colour, and was shorn periodically from dogs bred by the natives for this purpose. This mixture of wool and hair was spun into yarn by the women with the hand and thigh in the same manner as the 'slowi' or cedar-bark. Sometimes the down of ducks was added to the wool and hair and all three spun together.

The method of weaving the yarn into blankets seems to have been everywhere the same. As the yarn was spun on the leg it was permitted to fall in loose coils into open baskets set on the ground. When a sufficient quantity has been spun for the purpose in hand, two of these baskets are taken at a time and placed alongside each other, and their contents are then rolled up together on a rod into a ball in such a manner that it can be unrolled from the inside. The two inner ends of the ball are now pulled out and fastened to the shank of a spindle. This shank, which is from two to three feet long, carries a whorl made from stone, or preferably from whalebone when this material is obtainable. This spindle is rotated by striking the lower side of the whorl with the right hand, the upper end of the shank being held between the thumb and forefinger of the other hand, and the

lower resting on the ground. By means of this spindle the two strands of yarn are twisted round each other into a single thread about the thickness of a lead-pencil. These threads are employed for a variety of purposes besides blankets. But if they are to be converted into the latter they are woven upon a very simple loom which consists practically of an upper and lower cross- or yarn-bar. These yarn-bars are variously held in place. Sometimes they are tied, as among the Déné, to two vertical rods, the whole forming a rough rectangular frame. Sometimes, as among the Vancouver Island Salish, they are set in vertical posts which have slits or holes at intervals in them to permit of extending or reducing the length of the web. The warp is strung in separate endless strands from one yarn-bar to the other, and kept asunder for the passage of the hand and shuttle by a very simple kind of 'heddle' made of a thin piece of wood set about the middle of the frame. The weft in the old-time blankets was made of a single-strand thread several times smaller than that forming the warp filament. The shuttle was sometimes a thin rod upon which the weft-thread was wound after the manner of a kite-string. Sometimes a shuttle was employed like that used in netting.

The actual weaving appears to have been the same among all the tribes, both Salish and Déné, such specimens of Salish blankets as have come under my observation being woven after the manner of the Déné webs described by Father Morice. This consisted in tying the weft-thread to the outermost warp filament in such a way that it is doubled, each end being wound

upon a separate shuttle. One of these is then passed over the warp filament and the other under, the threads are then twisted round each other and passed in the same manner over and under each successive filament till the last one is reached, when they are brought back again in the same way. The work is thus continued from side to side until the whole is completed, the web being slid over the yarn-bars from time to time to suit the convenience of the weaver who always weaves the web downwards. Sometimes among the Salish more than one of the warp filaments is woven in at a time. A common style was to weave in a pair at a time. In doing this the weft-threads were not always placed close together. I have seen old blanketing with these at least an inch apart. Sometimes the ends and sometimes the sides of the blanket would be finished off or decorated with loop-work fringing. The blankets of the notables of the tribes often had patterns worked in them in black and red, similar to those seen in the old basketry of this region.

Among the interior Salish, where the winters were colder, and where hunting was a common occupation, and skins of animals therefore more plentiful, the people wore better and more tastefully made clothing than on the coast.

The typical dress of a man of standing in his tribe consisted of several distinct garments. These were a short shirt or tunic, trousers, leggings, moccasins, and cap. The first was generally made of dressed deer-skin, the arm and side seams of which were commonly decorated with fringes of the same material. Instead

A Moose in Harness

*Photo by* C. W Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 67

of a tunic a kind of jacket with open front was sometimes worn, but this was not a general garment.

The trousers, also made, as a rule, of buck-skin, are a modern garment which came into fashion after the advent of the Fur Companies. They were also fringed on the outer side from near the top to the bottom. In the place of these trousers a breech-cloth was formerly used, and the legs were protected by long leggings which reached to the thigh, meeting the leg-hole of the breech-piece. Both leggings and breech-cloth were commonly fringed. An apron of skin or bark sometimes took the place of the breech-piece in the case of old men.

Moccasins were everywhere worn by the interior tribes, the dryness of their climate permitting this to be done. These were commonly made of buck-skin also, but the part intended for the leg was generally smoked, while that for the foot was left unsmoked. The pieces were sewed together with thread made of deer sinew. Different styles and makes of moccasins were used by the different tribes. Sometimes they would be ornamented with dyed porcupine quills, goose feathers or horse-hair. Socks of grass, cedar bark, and sage-brush bark were commonly worn with these in summer weather. In winter these gave place to others made from bear, buffalo, or deer skin with the hair left on. Sometimes these stockings were made from the leg skin of the animal turned hair side in.

The head coverings or caps were formed from the skins of animals and birds, such as the beaver, deer, fox, lynx, loon, hawk, and eagle. Sometimes the

entire scalp of an animal served as a cap. Among the Thompsons it was a common practice to wear as a head-covering caps made from the skin of the animals they regarded as their totems or guardian spirits.

In addition to the garments just described, the wealthy among some of the tribes wore, in cold weather, cloaks or robes of beaver, coyote, wolf, bear, buffalo, and other skins with the hair on and turned outwards. Some of the buffalo robes were occasionally dressed soft and white, the hair being all scraped off and the inside painted in various designs. Buck and doe skins were also thus treated at times by some of the tribes. The cloaks and robes of the poorer class were made of common skins and also of sage-brush and willow bark.

The dress of the women of the interior differed but little from that of the men except that as a rule it was made of finer and softer material and more highly ornamented. The tunic was generally made longer, sometimes as long as a smock, and was often profusely decorated about the breast and shoulders with dentalium shells, dyed porcupine quills, goose feathers, and horse-hair. The body of the tunic was commonly made of two doe-skins sewed together at the sides. All the seams, both on the arms and body, were heavily fringed. In addition to these garments—which often showed great variation in cut and style, some being short and full, and others long and narrow; some being worn loose like the men's shirts, and others tied in at the waist, according to the individual taste

of the wearer or the fashion of the locality—a bodice of buck-skin, the lower part of which was cut into a fringe, encircled the body below the breasts. In some centres sage-brush or cedar bark was substituted for the buck-skin; the material for these, as for all their other garments, depending to a large extent upon the locality and the ease with which it was procured. When these garments were made of the latter material the fringe-work often extended to the knees. Below these two body garments they wore on their lower limbs leggings and moccasins the same as the men save that they were generally shorter and more highly ornamented.

Maidens, from the time of puberty to their marriage, wore breech-cloths like the men, but they were made to fit tighter and were of thicker buck-skin. In shape, these breech-pieces were like legless trousers; and as the thick buck-skin had a tendency to chafe the skin, many girls wore a second under-cloth beneath the buck-skin, made of softer material, such as finely beaten sage-brush or cedar bark. These they renewed from time to time.

No white girl could be more modest than were the Salish maidens. So strongly, indeed, was this sense of modesty developed among them, that if a girl were surprised in a nude state by a man, while bathing or in any other way, nothing but marriage with that man could take away her shame, and it was considered obligatory on his part to make the girl his wife, and young men have been known to secure the maids of their choice by this method when they were unable to

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heads of both men and women. The only time it was ever cut was when the person was in mourning for the death of some relative or friend. Cutting off the hair was everywhere the conventional sign of mourning among the Salish, and the closer the hair was cut the deeper the grief of the mourner. Fats and perfumes of various kinds were used for the hair. In some tribes hunters habitually anointed their hair before setting out on their hunting expeditions with decoctions made from certain plants and deer's brains. A common way of dressing the hair among the Salish men was plaiting the front hair into two braids, which hung down on either side of the face. The back hair was either left loose or tied together with a string or into a knot. Among women the almost universal method of treating the hair was to plait it into two thick braids, which hung down one on each side of the head just behind the ears. It was the office of the women to comb the men's hair. Their combs were made in a variety of ways, mostly from wood.

Warriors had special methods or styles of doing up their hair. Some of these consisted in tying the front hair on one side in a knot and leaving that on the opposite side loose. This style was observed both on the warpath and at home. Another style was to gather up a portion of the hair on the top of the head and braid it upwards so that it stood erect, the ends being left free to fall down in a graceful sweep. Children of both sexes customarily wore their hair free and loose. At the period of puberty both boys and girls in some tribes had their hair specially treated.

In some centres, notably among the coastal tribes, a pubescent girl always wore a special kind of head-dress, consisting in the main of strands of mountain-goat wool braided or otherwise fastened to her hair.

The Salish, in common with most other primitive peoples, employed various pigments for bodily adornment. Those most commonly used were red and yellow ochres, white clay, charcoal, and powder of micaceous hematite or specular iron. This latter has a glistening effect and was greatly in vogue among all the tribes of this region. Where the hematite was not procurable, the mica from disintegrated granite was employed. It was applied to the skin by means of grease. The parts of the body decorated were commonly the face and breast. The paints were put on either wet or dry. The style of decoration varied with the age, rank, and calling of the person. Shamans and warriors had each their own style of painting. The paint was put on with the fingers, or with sticks of different sizes similar in form to our paint brushes. Young women painted their cheeks and forehead with a reddish kind of paint, which gave them a ruddy and not unbecoming appearance when not too lavishly applied. Elderly women usually painted the whole face red up to the eyes.

The facial paintings of the men varied very much according to the occasion, their mode of life, and the locality. To express joy they generally painted the face white and red, and a common colour for warriors was black. Many of their paintings, particularly those

on the breast and back were symbolical of their dream and guardian spirits.

Tattooing, which has been carried to a very high degree of excellence among the north coastal tribes, particularly the Haida, was but little practised by the Salish, and that generally by the women only. The markings were confined to the lower part of the legs, the arms, and the face. They were always very simple and crude, being mainly wavy or parallel lines, or spots, crosses, angles, and squares. The material employed was powdered charcoal, and the tattooing was done in several ways: by puncturing the skin with a fine needle of fish-bone or a cactus spike, which passed a fine thread coated with charcoal under the skin, or by means of a needle without any thread, the charcoal being carried in on the needle, which was thrust under the skin in a horizontal direction. The commonest face marks were two parallel or three diverging lines, the former running from about the centre of the lower lip to the chin, and the latter from the corners of the mouth, spreading outwards and downwards. It is said these lines were put upon the face after a girl had passed her puberty rites, to mark her new status or womanhood. The custom of tattooing and painting has practically gone out of use in all the Salish tribes, the former being entirely, and the latter almost entirely, confined to a few old women in one or two of the tribes.

Passing now to the Déné, we find a considerable difference in the dress of the eastern and western tribes.

Speaking of the dress of the eastern and northern Déné, Father Petitot, one of the earliest of the missionaries to go among these tribes, thus describes it: 'Besides the frock of white skin with tail-like appendages, decorated with fringes and metal trinkets, which was the original costume of the Déné-Dinjie, and which is still worn by the Loucheux, these Indians as well as the Hares, use trousers of the same material, and as richly ornamented, which are sewn to the foot-gear. These are worn by the women as well as the men. More southern tribes replace the trousers by a breech-clout, of any stuff, and leggings kept in position by garters.

'The gowns of the women are very short and adorned with a quantity of fringes, woollen tufts, glass beads, and sonorous trinkets. The foot-gear common to all is the mocassin of soft leather, which adheres to the foot as a glove to the hand. In the winter time the reindeer, the beaver, and the arctic hare help to give the child of the desert garments which are as light as they are handy.'

Mr. Strachan Jones, the Hudson's Bay officer, whom we have quoted before on the dwellings of the Loucheux, has also given a short description of the dress of the far northern tribes which in part corroborates and in part supplements, Father Petitot's description, and which may be added here: 'The men's summer dress consists of a shirt, pointed before and behind, the point nearly reaching to the knee; trousers and shoes, both sewed together, all made of dressed deer-skin without the hair. The shirt has a

broad fringe of beads across the breast, and there is a broad band of beads down the front of the legs of the trousers. Both fringe and band were in former times made of Hiagua shells (*Dentalium*) or of wooden beads made from willows. The dress of the women is nearly the same, differing only in the shirt reaching below the knee and not being pointed. The winter dress is the same, but is made of deer-skin with the hair on and turned inside. Sometimes the shirt is made of musk-rat or rabbit skin, but in this case the hair is turned outwards. Mittens of deer or mountain-sheep skin, with the hair inside, and a cap of rabbit-skin with the hair outside, complete the winter dress. The children are dressed in the same way, but have the mittens sewed to the shirt-sleeves, instead of being fastened to a line passing over the neck as in the case of the men and women, and their hood is fastened to the shirt and draws off and on like the hood of a Canadian capote.

'The men paint themselves with vermilion in lines across the face; they use also a kind of powder from the mountains exactly resembling black lead. They powdered their hair with goose-down and a kind of red earth during their feasts. The women tattoo their chins with lines from the mouth to the throat by puncturing the skin and rubbing in the black powder mentioned before. The men always, and the women sometimes, bore a hole in the end of the nose between the nostrils, and insert an ornament into it. Among one group of tribes this ornament consists of four Hiagua shells fastened together, but among the Hong-

Kutchin and other tribes a metal ring is used sometimes instead.'

The earlier dress of the western Dené, we learn from Father Morice, was of two kinds, the ordinary and the ceremonial costume. The former, for summer wear, consisted of a tunic, breech-piece, leggings, moccasins, and cap. The material of the first was commonly tanned caribou-skin, and it descended to about the thigh. It lacked the tail-like appendages in fashion among some of the northern and eastern tribes. The wealthier people decorated this garment with a profusion of fringe-work to conceal the seams, the strands of the fringes being often embellished with porcupine quills, dyed yellow and green. This garment among the less well-to-do was uniform neither in material nor style, being made of almost any available skins with the fur on, and on lines that would best comply with their number and extent.

The typical breech-piece and leggings were also made of caribou-skin. The latter covered the legs in their whole length, and were kept in position by thongs tied to the sides of the breech-cloth band. They were also tied in at the knee with ornamented garters. The typical mocassin was of dressed elk-skin, but the poorer class made it of untanned marmot-skin or even of salmon-skin.

Nowadays the moccasins are uniformly made of dressed caribou or moose skins among the Carrier, Sikani, and Nahane tribes, and of deer-skin among the Chilcotin. In wet weather all went, and still go, bare-

footed, as the damp quickly spoils the leather of the moccasin.

One peculiarity of the western Déné is that all wear mittens made of the same material as the moccasins. They wear these not only in the winter but throughout the whole year, summer and winter alike, for the reason that they do not like performing any kind of manual work with the bare hand. They are suspended from the shoulders by a cord of plaited yarn, which is hung over the neck, so as to prevent them from being lost when they are not actually in use. We have seen that their northern brethren carried them about in the same way but apparently made use of them only in winter.

For headgear the western Déné wore in summer caps of marmot-skin thus made: a band some three inches broad was cut from the skin with the hair on and secured at either end so as to form a crown-like head-dress. Over this was sewn a circular piece of similar material, the edge of which was left to project two or three inches beyond the band like a brim. This was then slit into a fringe which fell down all round the band. The winter cap consisted of a hemispherical bowl-like covering woven from strips of rabbit-skin. Both men and women wore the same style of head-covering.

The summer dress of the women did not differ materially from that of the men, except that the tunic was somewhat longer and often ornamented round the shoulders and back with a row of pendent caribou and beaver teeth and claws. These garments on the

Déné Maids in Native Costume

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 79

women were also tied in at the waist with a girdle. In addition to this tunic they wore leggings and moccasins like the men. To this day they have retained and still wear both these latter.

During the cold weather both men and women, but especially the latter, who had more out-of-door work to do than the men, added a breast-blanket to the ordinary clothing. This was made from the undressed skin of any fur-bearing animal. It was fastened to the neck and hung down over the breast. Sometimes a swan's skin was used for this purpose. Those who could afford to do so further protected their bodies from the rigours of the winter by means of a large cloak or robe of lynx-skins sewn together and worn with the hair outside. Among the Chilcotins this garment is still commonly used, but with them the hair is worn outside and the material is more often marmot-skins, which are more easily procured and are not so valuable as lynx-skins. The women of this tribe convert the cloak into a gown or skirt by tying it round their waist with a girdle of leather, from which they hang beavers' nails and teeth, old thimbles, or the brass shells of exploded cartridges.

The modern dress of the Déné varies with their habitat. Those living in close contiguity to the white settlements generally wear, as do the Salish, the clothing common to those centres. But almost everywhere the natives have retained the moccasins and leggings, and those of them who spend much of their time in trapping and hunting find the old-time skin tunic

and trousers more serviceable and convenient than the ordinary clothes of the settlements.

In outlying districts and in the far north the primitive costumes are still commonly worn, though they are now sometimes fashioned of other than native material.

The ceremonial dress of the Déné was everywhere much more elaborate and ornamental than their ordinary everyday costumes. In the accompanying plates will be seen some specimens of these as they are now used among the tribes east of the Rockies.

These garments, in the old days among the western Déné, were chiefly worn by the nobles of the tribe both men and women, on festal occasions, such as ceremonial dances, cremations of the dead, gift-feasts, etc.

The distinctive garments composing the ceremonial attire were the head-dress of the men, the coronet of the women, the breast-plate and the *Raz* or apron. The other garments worn on these occasions, such as the leggings and moccasins, though not distinctive, were always richly and highly ornamented to correspond to the other attire.

The head-dresses were of different styles. Father Morice has described two of the more characteristic of these. The first one is composed of three distinct parts: two horn-like appendages, a cap or head-covering proper, and a pendent train. The horns are made of the stout bristles of the sea-lion's whiskers, which must have been secured from the coast by barter, this animal not being a native of their district. The cap is formed of

A Déné Chief in Full Dress

*hoto by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 80

three rows of dentalium shells attached to a strip of caribou-skin and fastened to the bristles by a network of sinew. The train is of human hair, each strand of which is formed of about a dozen hairs twisted into a two-ply cord. A fringe at the bottom of the train is formed by adding bunches of loose hair to the extremities of the strands to which they are fastened by means of finely shredded sinew.

The second one is simpler in make but of more costly material. In place of the sea-lion's bristles are strips of ermine-skin, and the train is composed of three-ply strands of hair which are adorned throughout their whole length with additional dentalium shells set at brief intervals. These head-dresses when used in the festal dances were always decked with swan's down, which in the eyes of all the tribes of this region had a mystic, sacred significance.

The owners of these head-dresses set great store by them, and nothing would have induced them to part with them. They were looked upon as the badges and symbols of their nobility, without which their social claims and status might be seriously called in question. To part with them was therefore equivalent to forfeiting their rank and title. This was so generally understood that these head-dresses commonly bore the hereditary titular names of the nobles owning them, and passed when once possessed, as did the titles or names themselves, by succession to their heirs from one generation to another.

The hair from which these head-dresses were made was taken from the heads of deceased noble women

and arranged in the desired style at the grand final feast, commemorative of their death and cremation. It required the hair of two women to make one head-dress. The head-dress or coronet of the women entitled to rank as nobles differed both in style and material from that of the noblemen just described. It was crown-shaped and composed of stiffened laps of weasel-skin and feathers. They are commonly made in the following fashion: a strip of tanned skin about an inch in width overlaid with three rows of dentalium shells is made to serve as the foundation or head-band. From this rise the strips of weasel-skin, the longitudinal edges of which are turned in and sewn together. These are stiffened and made to stand upright by means of larger bird-quills or slender wooden rods. To the top of each of these laps a scalp of the red-headed woodpecker is secured, whilst their faces are decorated with the tail-feathers of another kind of woodpecker; two feathers to each face, one at the top and one in the middle.

These coronets are always open at the top, and are filled up while dancing with down which the dancer throws around her by characteristic jerks of the head.

Next in importance to the head-dress was the breast-plate. This was crescentic in shape and formed from dentalium shells, mounted on a groundwork of dressed caribou-skin. Its two cusp-like extremities were clasped or tied with raw-hide thongs behind the neck. This article of adornment was valued by the natives at four dressed moose-skins or forty beaver-skins, equivalent to about £40 of our currency.

SARCEE BRAVES IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 82

The *Raz* or apron was valued at about the same price. This piece of the ceremonial costume was usually made of tanned caribou-skin, and was worn below the breast-plate like an apron. They usually had a fringe composed of dentalium shells and porcupine quills dyed yellow and green, which was tasselled with thimbles and young caribou hoofs. These gave a pleasant jingle as the wearer danced or walked.

The noblewomen wore no *Raz* but substituted for it a cincture-like article of apparel which, though it resembled a girdle, was considered by the natives to be a breech-cloth, but being merely ornamental it was not used as such, being worn over the dress. It was composed entirely of dentalium shells threaded on sinew.

In addition to his ceremonial garments the *teneza* or nobleman generally carried an ornamental fire-bag and quiver. These were made of skins decorated with fringes and shells like the other parts of his costume.

Other characteristic articles of apparel in use among the Déné were the head-dresses of shamans and pubescent girls. The English equivalent for the native name of one of the most characteristic of the former is 'grizzly-bear-claws,' so called because it was mainly composed of these precious and much-prized objects.

The head-dress of the pubescent girl combined in itself a veil, a bonnet, and a mantlet. It was made of tanned skin, the forepart of which was shaped like

a long fringe which completely hid from view the face and breast of the girl. The middle part sat upon the head like a close-fitting cap, and the hind part fell in a broad band almost to her heels.

This head-dress was made and publicly placed on the girl's head by a paternal aunt. At the close of the period of seclusion which pubescent girls had always to undergo, and which lasted for three or four years among the Western Déné, this same aunt took off the head-dress again, she alone having the right to do so.

This was the procedure in the case of daughters of untitled parents, but if the girl was of noble lineage, when the first anniversary of her reaching womanhood came round, her parents would give a feast at which, with befitting ceremonies, another kind of head-dress in the form of a diadem would be placed upon her head, and the earlier one discarded. This second head-dress was made of skin and dentalium shells.

With regard to tattooing, the face was the chief part of the body thus adorned. Upon this, in conventional outlines, figures of birds, fishes, plants, crosses, and other objects were often marked, but the commonest style of facial tattooing consisted of lines, single and parallel, on the chin, the cheeks, the temples or forehead, or radiating from the corners of the mouth as among the Salish. The forearms were also a common part of the body tattooed. The markings here were generally symbolical of the totem or manitou of the individual wearing them, their presence on his person being supposed to bring him into close and mysterious relationship with his spiritual guardian. Sometimes,

Dené Medicine-men in Ceremonial Costume

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 85

however, these tattoo marks on the arms and also on the legs were rather amuletic than ornamental or totemic in character, being placed there chiefly as a specific against certain bodily ailments, such as rheumatism or premature weakness of the limbs, etc. When the tattoo marks had this significance they consisted simply of two transverse lines which were commonly tattooed on the persons of young men by pubescent girls.

The breast was also occasionally tattooed, the figures marked here being generally totemic in character. One of the most highly prized of these was the symbol of the grizzly bear. To have this tattooed upon a person involved great expense and outlay; many gifts and ceremonial banquets being necessary for its accomplishment. Those who could display this symbol were highly regarded and much envied by their fellows.

On exceptional occasions, such as ceremonial dances or gift feasts, many of the people painted their faces with charcoal and vermilion.

Besides the tattooing and painting the Déné further adorned their persons with necklaces, ear and hair pendants, nose-rings, crescents or bars, and, among the Babine tribe, with lip-studs or labrets.

The necklaces are still worn by many of the eastern tribes, and form an important part of their ceremonial dress, as may be seen from the plates representing some of the Sarcee notables in full native regalia. These necklaces were formerly made of native 'wampum,' composed of discs of shell or bone, pierced through

the centre and strung close together on sinew and other threads. A necklace of this kind was exceedingly valuable. Few, if any, are to be found to-day, the genuine native wampum having given place to the machine-made article of the trader. Since the advent of the latter, glass beads have been largely used in the manufacture of wampum.

Another highly-prized necklace was that formed from the claws of the grizzly bear. Few men only possessed these much-coveted treasures. A specimen of this kind of necklace may be seen on the neck of one of the men in Plate XVII. Strings of dentalium shells were also used as necklaces. These were strung together in many different ways.

Still another, and perhaps the most characteristic kind in use among the Déné, was that made of pieces of caribou horn. These pieces of horn were obtained by first boiling the horn and then splitting off thin bands of it which are given the desired shape while in the plastic condition, which results from the boiling. Ornamentation in the form of rude geometrical designs was given to the pieces of horn by scratching their outer surfaces with a stone knife. These striations were then filled up with red ochre, so that the lines stood out in strong contrast to the rest of the surface.

The old-fashioned ear-pendants were like those in common use among the Salish and other tribes of this region, namely strings of dentalium shells. Another ear-pendant formerly and still in use among some of the Déné was that made from a disc of haliotis shell. The dentalium pendants were in some tribes proper to

Déné "Wampum"

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 86

the men only, while the haliotis was reserved for the exclusive use of women.

The nose ornaments were of four kinds, the crescent, the discoidal or cruciform, the ring, and the dentalium bar. The first two were commonly made of haliotis shell. The third would seem to be a modern style, introduced since trading-days, as it was commonly a ring of silver. These three kinds of nose ornaments were common to both men and women; the fourth, the dentalium bar already described, was used by women only.

The hair ornaments or pendants consisted of bunches of strings decorated with dyed porcupine quills and beaver-claws, or, since trading days, glass beads of various colours and copper buttons, which were fastened to the hair a little above the ears. These ornaments were worn by the Déné down to a short time ago, but have now practically gone out of use like many of the others.

The lip studs or labrets, worn only by the women, were a kind of plug with a button-like face which were inserted in a slit cut in the lower lip. The insertion of these ornaments took place when a girl arrived at puberty. When the slit was first made it was small and narrow, and only a small pin-like plug was put in. This was worked in the hole to enlarge it. After a time a larger plug was inserted, and later again, when the perforation had become permanently enlarged, a still larger one was worn. These labrets were sometimes an inch and a quarter long and three-fourths of an inch wide. The inner side rested against the teeth,

and caused the lip to protrude in a very noticeable manner. Like flattening of the head among the Salish, the labret marked the social status of the wearer. The larger the labret and the more the lip protruded or hung down, the higher the woman's rank. The outer faces of some of those worn by the wives and daughters of chiefs were often excessive in size, rising above the mouth and falling below the chin. The material from which they were made was mostly wood.

This style of facial ornament was, as we have said, peculiar to one division only of the Déné, the Babines, a sub-tribe of the Carriers, so called by the early French-Canadians in the employ of the North-West Fur Company on account of this habit of wearing the labret, 'Babine' being a corrupt French term meaning 'Lippy.'

A Family of Eastern Déné in Native Costume

*Photo by C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.*

*To face page 88*

# CHAPTER V

## FOOD AND COOKING

THE staple food of the delta and coastal tribes was, and to a large measure still is, fish, foremost amongst which ranked the salmon. There are five distinct species of this fish, all of which make excellent and highly nutritious food; but one species, in the estimation of both Indians and whites, excels all the rest in the fineness of its flesh and the delicacy of its flavour. This is known locally as the 'Sock-eye'—a corruption of the native term *sukai*, meaning 'the fish of fishes.'

These salmon are not, strictly speaking, river fish; they enter the rivers and streams only for breeding purposes at certain seasons of the year, no two of them having quite the same spawning time. There is scarcely any month in the year when salmon may not be caught in the rivers and lakes which have sea connection.

But it is during the 'run' of the 'sock-eye' that the salmon are taken in the greatest numbers; and upon this fish the natives of the Littoral mainly depend for their food for the greater portion of the year. The 'run' lasts about seven or eight weeks, and during that time the Indians formerly aimed at catching and curing as many as would last them till the next

'run' came round; especially those tribes that had no fishing-stations actually on the coast itself.

The salmon was taken in a variety of ways. On the islands fishing with 'reef-nets' was the commonest method employed. These nets were long and deep, and were used, as their name implies, on the reefs or submerged rocks which extend beyond some of the islands. The lower parts of these nets are held down in the water with stone sinkers, and the upper parts are kept afloat by means of pieces of cedar wood. The spots chosen for sinking these nets are those which are known to lie in or near the course which the salmon take on their way from the ocean waters to the spawning-grounds. Certain spots or points are noted for the number of salmon that pass that way.

Many of the Island tribes had fishing-grounds off the mouths of the Fraser. Here miles of tidal flats stretch out into the deeper waters of the gulf, and as the salmon pass over these on their way up the river, they are easily taken in large numbers in long seine nets, which are dragged over the shoals between two canoes, the fish becoming entangled in their meshes.

In the off seasons, when the salmon are not running single salmon may be caught by hook or spoon at any time in the tidal waters, the Indians being expert trollers and deep-line fishers.

The tribes living on the rivers and streams inland secured their salmon in other ways. The commonest method employed for their capture was the weir. This was a wattled obstruction placed across the river in one of its more shallow spots. The salmon

making for the spawning-grounds on the higher reaches were stopped in their course by these weirs and congregated on the lower side of them in a good season in almost countless numbers. Here they were speared and thrown out on the bank in hundreds.

In the higher parts of the Fraser, and on its tributary rivers and streams, the trap or basket was the chief means of capture employed. These traps and baskets were made in different ways by different tribes. Some had the shape of a box, into which the fish could freely pass by a narrow channel constructed for the purpose, but could not get out again, and so were caught. Other traps were wicker-work baskets of cylindrical form.

Among the upper Halkomelem tribes, in districts where the river rushes through the cañons with great force and swiftness, the dip or bag-net is the characteristic means of capture. This net resembles an immense butterfly-net fastened to a long pole, and is repeatedly dipped in and drawn through the water by an over-hand action. To enable the fishermen the better to manipulate his net a staging of timbers is usually erected over the river, upon which he stands. The force of the downward rush of the current drives the salmon to 'hug the bank,' and the muddiness of the water prevents him from seeing the net until he has entered its mouth as he forges his way upstream.

One of the accompanying plates shows some of the Indians engaged in this occupation. The drying-sheds where the salmon, after being cut open and cleaned, are hung up in rows to dry, may also be seen

in the same plate. During the salmon 'runs' the Indians of this region meet here in great numbers.

In clear water streams and rivers, such as the Thompson, for example, the salmon are mostly taken by spearing. This is generally done by torch-light in canoes. Each canoe carries three or four men, all of whom wear small masks to protect their eyes from the glare of the torches so that they may see what they are doing. One man sits in the stern of the canoe and so manipulates it that they drift broadside on down the stream. A man in the centre holds and looks after the torch, while one or two others do the spearing. The larger river-trout are also taken in this way. Spears of different kinds are used for this purpose: some have single points, some double, and some triple points. Sometimes the fish are speared from the banks with long-shafted spears.

The methods employed by such of the Déné tribes as live on streams or lakes that form spawning-grounds for the salmon differed generally from those of the Salish. They capture their fish mostly by means of traps. A common way of doing this is to erect a weir across the stream, behind which they set bottle-shaped baskets, which the fish enter by narrow openings in the weir and are thus caught. Sometimes these baskets lead into a rectangular box-like receptacle, where the fish crowd in such numbers as to squeeze themselves to death, becoming packed in their struggles almost as closely as sardines in a tin.

Where it is not practicable to weir the whole stream or body of water they make pens or corrals,

into which they drive the salmon by beating and splashing the water all round them. In their efforts to escape from the corral the fish are prompted to enter the gaping mouths of large cylindrical baskets, which are placed in one side of the corral. As soon as they have done this the mouths of the baskets are lifted up so that the fish cannot retreat, and they are thus taken.

Another method of securing the salmon, in use among the Carrier tribes, where the water was too deep for the construction of a weir or corral, was to make a kind of lattice-work at the edge of the bank, which projected into the water for a few feet. Connected with this and laid upon the bottom of the stream or lake was a toboggan-shaped basket with an opening near its curved end. The salmon passes through this into an uncovered canal-like conduit which leads into a large latticed reservoir, where it is imprisoned and caught.

Still another way was to erect a kind of pot-hanger basket. These are always placed upon the edge or brink of some fall in the river which is not too deep to prevent the ascent of the fish, but sufficiently deep to temporarily impede their passage. A simple bridging is first built across the stream immediately above and over the fall, and to this are then suspended by bark ropes numbers of lattice-work screens, the lower ends of which are turned up so as to form a kind of trough or pocket.

These rest upon the edge of the fall, and when the salmon attempt to jump to the higher reach of the

river, they strike against the screen and fall back into the pockets and are thus secured.

In some parts the Déné tribes also make use of the dip-net; but this, in their waters, unless the salmon are running in great numbers, is an exceedingly slow method of fishing.

The method of treating the salmon when caught does not greatly differ among any of the tribes. For the most part they are dried in the sun and air. The heads are first wrenched off by thrusting a stick through one of the gills and out through the mouth. One turn of a woman's dexterous wrist and the head is off. The cleaning and preparing of the salmon is the women's work. When the head is off, a knife is run along the belly of the fish and it is laid open in a moment. The knife used for this purpose is crescentic in shape, or rather has a crescentic or curved edge. They are now always made of steel, quite commonly from a piece of a saw which has been ground to the proper form, but in earlier days the material was either shell or slate. The backbone is next taken out and set aside, usually for dog food, the inner flesh is then scored to facilitate the drying, and the fish is kept open by two skewers or rods which stretch from side to side. After this treatment they are hung in rows beneath rough sheds, and dried by the action of the sun and air, the process being sometimes hastened by fire and smoke. Salmon taken in the autumn months are frequently wholly dried and cured by smoking, which is done in closed sheds or huts.

Among the upper tribes, particularly among the

Déné, where the salmon are not taken in such quantities as nearer the mouth of the Fraser, the heads are always carefully preserved for making oil. They are strung on willow rods and deposited in the water on some sandy shore of the lake or stream, where they remain till they have reached an advanced stage of decay. When 'ripe' they are gathered up and placed in large trough-like receptacles, and boiled by means of the usual heating-stones. During the boiling the oil rises from them to the surface and is skimmed off into birch-bark buckets, and afterwards stored away in bottles made from the whole skins of the salmon. This oil is eaten with their preserved berries.

Among the Thompsons and the tribes near the sea the oil is extracted from the whole salmon in much the same way. The fish are allowed to 'ripen,' and then some forty or fifty of them are placed together in the large wooden *skuma* or cooking-tubs of these tribes. Water is now poured on the putrid mass, and the whole is well stirred and boiled for several hours. When ready the cooking-stones are taken out and a pail of cold water is poured into the tub, which causes the oil to rise to the surface. At this stage it is of a reddish tinge, and has, according to Indian taste, no offensive smell. When the oil has all risen it is skimmed off into birch-bark buckets with spoons. It is allowed to stand thus over night, and next day it is boiled afresh by itself, and skimmed from time to time till all the scum has been taken off. It is now ready to store away. This is done by means of bottles made from various materials, the nature of which

varies to some extent with the locality. Among the Thompsons and neighbouring tribes the salmon-skin bottle is most in vogue. These are prepared in the following manner. The skin is first drawn whole from the salmon, just as one draws off a closely-fitting glove inside out. This is then carefully cleaned by rubbing it with dry wood-dust, after which it is greased with deer, or preferably with mountain-sheep, fat. It is then turned right side out, the oil poured in, and the mouth securely sown up and sealed with salmon-spawn jelly.

Besides these salmon-skin bottles, other kinds were in use in other localities. These would be made from the larger gut of the bear, from the sounds or air-bladders of the larger fish, or, on some parts of the coast, from a species of sea-weed peculiar to the Northern Pacific waters; this has a large, hollow, bulbous root, which, when dried, is almost as good and serviceable for holding and preserving liquids as a glass bottle itself.

In addition to preserving the oil in this manner, it was treated by some tribes in another way. A kind of butter was made from it by mixing it with equal quantities of the best kidney suet, taken from the deer, or preferably from the mountain-sheep. The oil and suet were boiled up together, thoroughly mixed, and then set to cool. When cool the compound had the consistency of butter, and was esteemed a great delicacy among the natives. It was eaten, among other things, with the compressed cakes which they make from certain of their wild berries. This was a costly

kind of food, and only the wealthier class could afford it.

The flesh of the salmon after the oil is extracted from it is never thrown away or wasted. The water is all strained off, and the residue is then worked up and kneaded into balls and put in the sun to dry. While drying the women occasionally smell it to see that it is sweet and devoid of flavour. If there is the least taint to it they break it up and wash and knead it afresh. When quite dry and free from all smell, it is again broken up and rubbed fine between the hands till it takes on the appearance of flour. This is used for packing away the oil bottles. Some of the flour is spread over the bottom of a birch-bark basket, upon this a row of the bottles of oil is laid, this is again covered with more flour, and a second layer of bottles put in, which is treated in the same way; and the process is thus continued till the basket is full, when the last layer is covered up and the whole stored away for future use.

The fresh salmon was cooked in a variety of ways—by roasting whole before a fire with a stick run through its mouth, planted in the ground and made to slant towards the fire; or slit open and placed in the cleft of a stick; or laid in hot ashes; or by boiling. When treated in the latter way it was usually tied up in bark to keep it from going to pieces.

The kettles and pots of the Salish in pre-trading days were either trough-like tubs hollowed from a block of wood or trunk of a tree, or baskets. These latter were so skilfully made from the split rootlets

of the cedar or spruce that they would hold liquids. They were never, of course, placed over the fire; the heating or boiling was effected by means of 'cooking-stones.' These are small water-worn boulders of basalt, or some other close-grained stone, that will stand the heat without cracking and breaking; they are first heated in the fire, and when hot enough are taken up by a pair of wooden tongs, quickly dipped in and out of a pail of water to cleanse them, and then put into the pot or kettle. It does not require many such stones to make a kettle boil or to cook a salmon.

On occasions of public feasting, when it was required to cook large quantities of salmon at once, a common method of preparing them was to roast them over the fire on a kind of wooden gridiron constructed in the following manner:—A long trench about a foot deep and two wide was first dug; a fire of dried wood, which made little smoke, was then kindled along the bottom of this. Short stakes were next driven into the ground at intervals of eight or ten feet apart on either side of the fire. Along the top of each row of these horizontal poles were now tied, and across these, over the fire, crossbars were laid about a foot apart. Upon these scores of salmon were placed at a time, either whole or split open, and roasted together.

Besides the salmon, the inland tribes caught large numbers of brook and river trout. Some of these latter are very large, weighing from twenty to forty pounds each. The tribes of the Fraser also catch and eat sturgeon. As already stated, these fish when mature attain enormous proportions, often outweighing a stout

ox. They are generally caught by means of large bone hooks fastened to thick bark lines from seventy-five to a hundred yards long. Sometimes they are taken from the shore, but the ordinary way is to capture them in the canoe. They have to be clubbed to death when once secured.

The tribes living on the coastal waters supplemented their salmon meat with other marine products, such as the seal, porpoise, sea-lion, whale, halibut, cod, flounder, sea-trout, whiting, herring, 'candle-fish,' smelts—the last three of which run in large numbers at certain times of the year—crabs, clams, sea-cucumbers, sea-urchins, and a host of other smaller things. Nor did they neglect the land animals of their region.

The interior tribes of both Salish and Dené, lacking the manifold marine supplies of the coastal people, had to depend more largely upon animal and vegetable food, and with them venison took the place of the salmon. This was the staple of the larder of most of those tribes whose waters did not produce the salmon, or produced them in limited quantities. In some regions the wapiti or the caribou took the place of the commoner deer. Among the Carriers, for instance, the deer was a rare animal, and among the Sikani was almost entirely absent. Here the caribou, the mountain-sheep, and goat were the chief articles of diet. Out on the plains again, east of the Rocky Mountains, the caribou formed the principal food of some of the Dené tribes, as the name of one of the divisions clearly indicates. Farther north among the Mackenzie tribes venison and fish hold an equal place in the dietary.

These staples were everywhere supplemented by the flesh of other animals which varied with the habitat. Game of all kinds was, and still is, in the unsettled regions, abundant and easily taken. In one part this animal predominated, in another that. Here it was the deer, there the wapiti, another place the moose, another the caribou, and still another the reindeer. In earlier days the buffalo was also found in certain sections and hunted west of the Rockies both for its meat and hide. On the east, south of Lake Athabaska, he was, until a generation or so ago, the commonest feature of the life of the plains, and was not only hunted by the Déné tribes who live east of the mountains, but also by many of the Salish who periodically crossed the Selkirks and Rockies for the express purpose of securing his meat and hide and trading with the plain Indians.

In times of scarcity, which seem from the tribal traditions to have sometimes occurred, there was scarcely any living thing they did not press into service as food.

The meat of the larger game animals is preserved and stored away for winter use among all the interior tribes, but particularly among those whose staple food is venison. The fat is first cut off and put away in deer-skin sacks, or melted down and tied up in a deer's paunch. The marrow from the larger bones is also melted down and stored away for future use in elk or deer bladders.

When the fat has been removed and the flesh taken from the bones it is then cut into thin slices, each of which is repeatedly scored or pierced with holes or

slits to accelerate the drying, which is generally accomplished by means of the sun and air. Should this, however, not be practicable, artificial heat or smoking is resorted to. It was also common to hang meat inside the dwellings close to the roof, and thus gradually dry it. Some of the Thompson tribes made use of the sweat-house to dry their meat supplies; others effected it by partially roasting it before a fierce fire.

Besides flesh and fish the Indians everywhere gather and eat considerable quantities of roots, berries, and nuts. The root that ranked first in the estimation of the interior tribes was the bulb of the lily known to science as *Lilium Columbianum*. This bulb is very large, single specimens often weighing a pound. Another favourite was the root of the sunflower. Among the island and littoral Salish a root known as 'Camass,' another kind of lily, whose bulbs are about an inch in diameter, was largely used and highly esteemed. Wild onions and carrots, the roots of the white clover and of the bracken-fern, as well as the bulbs of several other kinds of lilies, were also largely eaten.

The principal way of cooking these roots and bulbs was by baking or steaming them in a kind of oven made in the ground. This is done in several ways. The following was a common way over a large area. A hole is first dug, the bottom of which is covered with heated stones. Over these a layer of grass or aromatic leaves is spread, upon which the roots are laid and covered over with more grass or leaves. The whole is then covered up with earth, a small orifice being left in the centre for pouring in water

which is converted by the heated stones into vapour. This thoroughly and speedily cooks the roots. When the oven is cold it is opened and the contents taken out and eaten. Both fish and game are also sometimes treated in this way.

According to Teit, the Upper Thompsons cooked the greater number of their roots in the following manner: A circular hole is dug in the ground to the depth of 2½ feet, and large enough in diameter to contain the quantity of roots to be cooked. Into this hole are put four or five flat stones—one in the centre and the others around the sides. Above these is piled a large heap of dry fir-wood, on which is placed a quantity of small stones. The wood is then kindled and allowed to burn until nothing but the embers remain, when the small stones drop down to the bottom of the hole. The unburnt wood is next taken out, leaving nothing but the ashes and stones. Enough damp earth is then shovelled in to cover thinly the tops of the stones, and this is overspread to the depth of half a foot or more with the branches of bushes, such as the service-berry, maple, alder, etc. Next follows a layer of broken fir-branches, over which is spread a layer of dry yellow-pine needles, and still another layer of fir-branches. By this time the hole is nearly filled up. The roots are then placed on the top, and carefully covered with a thick layer of broken fir-branches, a layer of dry pine-needles, and again a layer of fir-branches. The whole is now covered with earth, and a large fire of fir-wood is kindled on top. In this way immense quantities of roots are cooked at one

time. They remain in the oven—according to the kind —from twelve to twenty-four hours. The roots of the wild sun-flower is the most difficult to cook, and it is therefore allowed to lie in this oven for two days.

In addition to the various roots, the natives of the interior are fond of eating the cambium layer of the black or 'bull' pine and other trees in the spring when it is soft and gelatinous. The thin, outer bark of the trees is first peeled off and then the inner or cambium layer is scraped from the trunks. It is sometimes dried and put away for winter use. Another favourite dish is that composed of the tender, succulent shoots of the flowering raspberry. These are picked and eaten when they are about six inches high. They are tied in bundles, boiled just as we treat asparagus, and then served with salmon butter, or oil.

These shoots were so highly esteemed among some of the delta tribes that they held a First Fruit's feast each spring when they were ready to be picked, and until this ceremony, which had a religious significance to the native mind, had been held, no one would think of picking or eating any. Similar First Fruit ceremonies were held in some tribes before each root-digging and berry-picking season, and also in all the Salish tribes when the 'prince of fish' or 'sock-eye' run commenced. We shall speak of these Feasts again when we come to deal with the religious beliefs and practices of the Indians.

The berries gathered and eaten by the Salish and Déné were of various kinds, almost every variety found in their habitats being pressed into service. Some, of

course, were more highly valued than others. In the southern interior the berry most in favour is one which somewhat resembles a black currant; it is about the same size but much sweeter in flavour, and called by the whites 'service-berry.' It is the *Amelanchier alnifolia* of the botanist. In the river valleys, or on the mountain-slopes, red and black currants, goose-berries, black-berries, straw-berries, rasp-berries of several varieties, red and purple whortle-berries, soap-berries, cran-berries, crow-berries, choke-berries, elder-berries, bear-berries, jumper-berries, rose-berries, moose-berries, and salal-berries are found in abundance. The last named were to the lower Fraser and coastal tribes what the service-berries are to the interior tribes. It is a black, soft berry about the size of a large currant, and grows on its stem very much like the flowers of the lily-of-the-valley grow. It is the fruit of a low evergreen plant which spreads all over the ground and is known to science under the name of *Gaultheria Shallon.*

Large quantities of these berries are preserved for winter use. Some are dried like the currants of commerce, others like the 'service-berry' are compressed into cakes. But the commonest way, perhaps, of treating the salal-berry is to make a kind of dry jam of it, which, when ready for storing away, has much the appearance of dark, coarse felt. To preserve them in this way they are first boiled for some hours, after which they are poured into a bowl and carefully mashed into a uniform jelly with a wooden pestle. A layer of large leaves is now spread over a kind of open lattice-work tray, and upon the leaves is spread out

a thin, continuous layer of the jelly. The tray is then placed in the sun for the fruit to dry, and when the upper side of the jelly is hardened into a cake, the whole is turned over upon another tray and the other side exposed to the sun's rays. When both sides are properly dried, it has, as I have said, the appearance of a sheet of felt, and can be rolled up like a mat and thus stored away for use. Nowadays sugar is used in the boiling; formerly, of course, they had to dispense with this. When they wish to make use of this preserved fruit, they break off a piece of it and steep it in water for a little while and then reboil it just as we do the dried fruits of commerce. Cured and preserved in this way, the natives say fruit will keep in good condition from one season to another, or even longer, if kept dry and free from mildew and moths. An interesting variation of this method of preserving the service-berries among the Carrier tribes is described by Father Morice. When the fruit has been gathered in sufficient quantities, a large spruce-bark vessel or boiler is built and laid on small posts driven in the ground. This is filled with the berries. Heated stones are now thrown on the mass, and these have the double effect of cooking and pressing down the berries, the juice from which is, at the same time, permitted to escape through a narrow conduit at the bottom of the boiler and fall into another receptacle. When the liquid has all been drained off, what is left in the boiler is well kneaded and squeezed with the hand, after which it is spread out in thinnish layers on willow hurdles, which have been previously covered with

leaves, and then exposed to the action of the sun and air. By frequently sprinkling the layers with the exuded juice, they coagulate into large cakes of almost uniform thickness. These, when properly prepared and dried, will keep for years, and, adds the good Father, when sprinkled with a little sugar, are of tempting succulency even to other than Indians.

The nuts and nutlets in common use were the hazel-nut and the kernels of the cones of the white and yellow pines; the former found in the habitat of the delta tribes, and the latter in that of the interior tribes.

The hazel-nuts were eaten both in their natural state and roasted. The nutlets of the pine were usually first roasted before eating. The roasting was done either in small ovens or in hot ashes. The kernels were often crushed and mixed with dried service-berries, and thus put away for winter use.

A few other nutlets and seeds were eaten at times.

By one of the Vancouver Island tribes high poles were formerly erected on each side of the bank of some inlet or narrow bay into which ducks and geese were known to enter on the wing about dusk. Across the water from pole to pole huge nets with large meshes were stretched. As these were in the line of flight of the birds, and as the dusk did not permit of their seeing them, they would fly into them and become entangled in the meshes, where they would be captured or shot down with arrows.

Large numbers of both ducks and geese were sometimes taken in this manner in the autumn and early winter evenings.

The food of the Indians of this region was usually served in large wooden dishes, or on plaques made of basketry, or on reed or grass mats. Soups, stews and the like were always served in the former, but fish and meat and the other more solid portions of their meals on the latter.

In eating, whether in the formal feast or at the ordinary meals, the men were always served first by themselves, the women never eating till they had finished, and then partaking only of what they had left. All solid foods were eaten directly with the fingers, but spoons were everywhere employed for liquid messes, such as soups or stews. Their spoons were ordinarily carved out of maple, or from the horns of the mountain-sheep. Those who could not afford or did not possess either of these used any hollowed thing that came to hand. Among the coastal tribes shells were often employed both as spoons and cups. Since the settlement of the country by ourselves, the natives have, in all but the outlying, distant centres, largely adopted our food and utensils, though the salmon and the deer are still chiefly counted upon to supply them with meat.

In speaking of the habitations of the Salish, it was pointed out how the delta and coastal tribes customarily stored away their stock of winter provisions in their dwellings—the roots under the sleeping platforms, and the fish, meat and fruit on hanging shelves.

This mode of storing was possible only to those tribes having suitable, permanent houses. The interior Salish and the more nomadic Déné, whose habitations

offered scant accommodation of this kind, had to provide other means of storing the winter or surplus supplies more suitable to their condition of life. This they did in two ways. Among the Lower Thompsons and the Lower Lillooets, whose climate is much damper than that of the upper bands of these divisions, and among the more sedentary of the western Dené, detached sheds or cupboards, elevated on posts several feet from the ground, were built and used as store-houses. They were thus elevated to protect their contents from prowling animals and the camp dogs. Each household or family group had its own storehouse.

Among the Upper Thompsons, Lillooets and other of the interior Salish, where the soil is usually dry and frequently of a sandy nature, particularly on the old upper benches of the rivers, the *tceepon* or cellar took the place of the elevated cupboard. Well-like holes, five or six feet deep and about three or four in diameter, are dug some little way from the dwellings in the sandy soil. These are either lined with bark, or the articles placed in them are wrapped about with bark. The mouth is closed by laying poles across it and heaping on these pine branches or other brush-wood. Sometimes the whole is covered with pine-needles and earth. Scores of these excavations or rather the remains of them may be seen near the sites of the old native villages. These permanent *tceepon* or cellars were different from the more temporary 'caches' of the hunter and the nomadic tribes, which are made wherever it is most convenient to place them without regard to camp or settlement, and are rarely used for the same purpose twice.

# CHAPTER VI

## BASKETRY AND BARK VESSELS

It has been found that basketry, notwithstanding its multifarious forms, falls naturally under two heads, according to the methods employed in its construction, viz.: Woven basketry and Sewn basketry, the essential difference between the two kinds lying, as the classifying terms indicate, in their structure. One is built up by means of the warp and weft, on the same principle as textile fabrics, which it may be remarked had their origin in the earlier basketry; the other by means of coils, which are either simply interlocked like chainwork or, if composed of cores, are sewn together. The first embraces by far the greater number of basket forms, and includes all the more familiar kinds, such as wicker-work, wrapped-work, twilled-work, checker-work, and twined-work. The second is more restricted in its scope and less familiar, and includes only the several varieties of coiled-work.

Dr. Mason, a distinguished American authority on native basketry, enumerates ten varieties of coiled basketry. These are:—

A. Coiled-work without any foundation.
B. Simple interlocking coil.
C. Single-rod foundation.
D. Two-rod foundation.

E. Rod and welt foundation.
F. Two-rod and splint foundation.
G. Three-rod and splint foundation.
H. Splint foundation.
I. Grass foundation.
K. Fuegian coiled basketry.

The restricted scope of this style of basketry will readily be perceived by this list, the varieties here distinguished differing one from another only in the nature and material of their foundations, and the way in which the stitching is effected. Notwithstanding this, some of the most beautiful basketry in the world, such as that of the Pomo of California, for instance, is made of coil-work. Of the ten varieties here enumerated, at least five, viz., A, B, D, H, and I, are found among the Salish or Déné.

(A) The first is found among the tribes of the latter people, in the region of the Mackenzie basin. The material in this instance is fine raw hide. The simplest form of this work is the open interlocking coil. A modification of this style is sometimes found, the thread being twined at intervals about itself, thus breaking the monotony of the surface and giving it a kind of open-work pattern.

(B) The characteristic of the second or simple interlocking coil is that the stitches merely interlock over the foundation without catching under any of its material, which may be of any kind. Examples of this style of basketry are found among the Déné tribes west of the Mackenzie region.

(D) The characteristic of the two-rod foundation variety is the way in which the stitching is done. Each stitch will be found to enclose three rods in a vertical series. Examples of this style of work are found among the Loucheux tribes. A modification of the same is also found among some of the Salish, only in these instances the foundation is formed of two thin flat elements, and not of the typical rods.

(H) Splint foundation. The distinguishing feature of this style is the manner in which the foundation is built up. The coils consist of a number of strands or splints bunched compactly together, the stitching passing through the upper edges of the foundation. This kind of basketry in British Columbia is characteristic of the Salish tribes of the Lower Fraser, embracing the Thompson, the Lillooet and the Halkomelem tribes. It is also found among some of the coastal tribes and among the Chilcotin Déné, but is truly characteristic only of the Lower Fraser area.

(I) Grass-coil foundation. This style of work differs from the last only in the nature of its foundation, which is here composed of bunches of grass or rush stems and suchlike soft substances. This kind of basketry was not in general use in this area, being found only among certain of the coastal Salish. The examples known of this work are in the form of cradles and the coils are large, having a diameter of nearly an inch, and stitched together with threads made from the stalk of the wild nettle. Specimens of this class of basketry are found in some of the rural

districts of England. The old-fashioned straw, dome-like bee-hive is made in this manner.

When coiled basketry is well made, especially with the splint foundation, it will hold liquids without difficulty. In some areas where basket-ware took the place and filled the uses of earthen-ware, the natives lined the insides of their baskets with pitch, gum, or some other adhesive and coating substance; but the Salish coiled basketry was so beautifully made that it would hold water without any assistance of this kind. As will have been gathered, the material employed in the stitching may vary as much as that used in forming the foundation. The roots of many kinds of plants and trees, whole or split into threads, are used for this purpose. That employed in making the finest of the Salish coiled basketry was taken from the smaller trailing roots of the cedar of this region, of which we have spoken before. The roots most desired are those belonging to the older and bigger trees because of the superior toughness of their fibre. They are dug and gathered by the women, who are everywhere the basket-makers among the Salish and Déné. They bring them home in bundles on their backs, a score or two at a time. The roots vary in length from one yard to three or four, the longer the better; and in thickness they are about the size of the base of one's thumb. If the basket-maker does not intend to commence operations at once, the rootlets are buried in damp ground or placed in water to prevent them from drying out and becoming brittle. When ready to begin she takes one of the rootlets, splits one end of

it open, takes the part nearest her in her teeth, holds the other with the left hand and with a knife or some other similar instrument in her other hand continues the splitting by levering the parts asunder. Treated in this way the rootlet splits into two fairly equal halves. Each half is then divided in the same way again, and this process of subdivision is continued until the splints or strands are of the size desired, which depends upon the dimensions of the basket she contemplates making; the smaller the basket the smaller, as a rule, the strands or threads. Owing to the cross in the grain in some of the rootlets a good many pieces split out unevenly. These are either pared down to the required size or else, if too small or too short for the purpose of threads, are set aside for building up the core or foundation; this in the typical basket being always formed of the rejected parts of the rootlets, so that both foundation and stitching are made of the same material. The basket-makers of the Salish early discovered the enduring qualities of the cedar, which resists wet and rot longer than any other of the wood fibres of their region, and so preferred to make their baskets wholly of this wood. A well-made cedar-root basket often outlasts the generation which saw it made. There are many specimens of these baskets known to have been in use for close upon half a century.

As each splint or strand is made it is doubled up, tied into a kind of loose knot and thrown into a pail of water, where it remains till needed.

When a sufficient number of splints have been made,

both for thread and foundation work, the woman begins her baskets. This she may do in two ways, according to the use to which she intends to put it. If it is to be a water- or a cooking-basket she takes three or four or more of the foundation splints, puts them together, inserts the end of a thread strand among them and then winds the latter tightly round the whole for an inch or two from the end, according to the size and shape of the basket; she then doubles the foundation sharply back upon itself and sews it by over-stitching to the wound part; this she does by piercing it with her awl and thrusting through the hole thus made the end of her binding or sewing strand, which she pulls home tight, and repeats the process, carrying the foundation round and round till the bottom of the basket is of the required dimensions, when, instead of sewing on the next round of splints to the outer edge of the last as she has done hitherto, she sews it to the top of it, and thus continues to carry the foundation-work up in spirals till the full height of the basket is attained, when the foundation splints are gradually lessened in number and size till the vanishing point is reached and the basket is completed.

The bottoms of most of the baskets now made, and many of those formerly constructed, which were not intended to hold liquids, were made in a somewhat different manner from that just described. Instead of sewn coiled-work the bottom was made of wicker-work, of the over-and-under kind that entirely covers and hides the warp, which in these cases was composed of thin slats or strips of cedar-wood, ranging in width

IMBRICATED BASKETRY OF THE FRASER SALISH

SPECIMENS OF SALISH WOVEN BASKETRY AND MATTING

*To face page* 115

from a quarter of an inch to a full inch, according to the size of the basket. A number of these of the desired length are taken and tied in parallel rows by means of two cross-sticks. Between each a space is left about the thickness of the weft thread, which is the same as that used for the over-casting. This is wattled or woven on the warp slats continuously back and fore in order that there may be no loose ends; each thread is passed over and under in alternate order and then pressed home against the last by the point of the awl. When this is completed the weft end is securely fastened or else used to overstitch, as far as it will go, the first foundation spiral of the sides of the basket, which are built up in the manner already described; the first row of the foundation work being sewed on to the edges of the bottom which at this stage has the appearance of a wicker-work plaque. To give the bottom the ovaloid form, which most have, the warp-slats are trimmed to the desired shape before the weft strand is woven into them.

We have said nothing so far about the decorative features of this basketry. From the examples given in the accompanying plate, it will be seen that ornamentation entered largely into the construction of the Salish basketry. The designs employed are all more or less conventionalised, the *motive*, so far as discernible, showing a strong tendency towards the development of geometrical forms.

This, when the nature and material of the decorative field and the manner in which the designs are executed are considered, is only what one might expect. It is

not easy at all times to discover what the designs are intended to represent, so conventionalised are they.

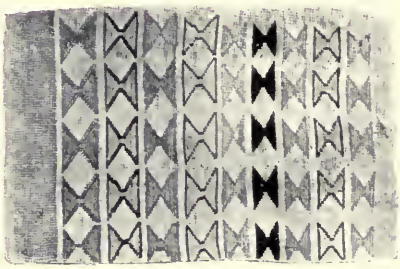
A word must here be said regarding the purpose of these ornamentations. To imagine them to be merely decorative would be to misconceive their true character and the original intention of the basket-maker.

The primary purpose of all designs or representations among primitive peoples, such as we are dealing with, is not decorative in the sense in which we use this term, but symbolical. It has already been shown that the designs painted or tattooed by the Salish and Déné upon their persons were symbolical of certain ideas, or represented their totems or tutelary spirits. It was customary also to paint or carve figures of these latter upon many of their personal belongings, especially upon their weapons and utensils, and there is no doubt that the figures or designs on their baskets were primarily of the same nature.

Looking at the examples in the plate one might suppose them to be surface paintings, but this is not the case; the figures are worked into the baskets by a process which among American students has been called *imbrication*. To imbricate is to overlap, and 'overlapping' is the term which exactly expresses the technique of these basketry designs, the figures being wrought by overlapping or imbricating coloured straws or strips of bark upon the whip-stitching or overcasting which binds the foundation splints together. This method of ornamentation is of extremely limited distribution, being confined to one of two small areas on the North

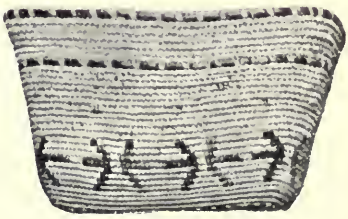
Lower Thompson. "Flying geese" pattern

Lillooet Tribe. Design representing a net, with deer, man, dogs, flies, etc., in interspaces



Yakima Tribe. "Flying birds" pattern

Lower Thompson. Head with open mouth and teeth; hair along back of head



Lower Thompson. "Grouse track" pattern

BASKETRY DESIGNS (AFTER FARRAND)

*To face page* 117

Pacific slope and not known to be practised elsewhere in any part of the world.

In making a basket the Salish basket-maker may treat the surface of her work in several ways. She may leave it in its natural state, the uniformity and regularity of the over-casting being its only decoration, or she may work in by the imbricating process certain patterns or designs by means of strips of coloured bark; she may, as she frequently does, cover the whole outer surface with imbricated straw-work; or again, she may combine, as she does in her best specimen of basketry, the two last processes. Let us suppose it is her intention to cover the outer surface of her basket with straw-work. She prepares this beforehand as she does her splints. She goes to the swamp where the kind of grass she wants grows and cuts an armful or two and brings it home. She does not use the whole grass, only its stems. These she cuts off in lengths of about twelve or fourteen inches, that is, all the best parts of the stems, and ties them up in small bundles which she hangs near the fire to be dried and smoked, or else she boils them. This gives them a silvery, glistening appearance, very similar to bright, clean wheat stems. They are next flattened and opened out into ribbon-like strands, and in this condition are ready for use. When she has finished the bottom of the basket and is ready to begin the spirals of the sides she inserts one end of a straw, the smooth, outer face downwards, under the first whip-stitch that binds the side-foundation to the bottom of the basket, then draws the stitch tight and thus secures it. If she

is working from left to right, as she generally does, the straw now lies pointing to her left. She next raises it as one does the leaf of a book, and passes it to her right, over the face of the stitch she has just made, so that its polished, outer side is upwards. At a point a little beyond this stitch, about where the middle of the next will fall, she doubles back the straw again to her left, sews in the next stitch and fastens down the doubled end of the straw under this. She then turns the straw back to her right again, over the face of this second stitch, repeats the rest of the process and continues facing each stitch, one at a time, in this way, till the basket is completed and its whole surface is covered with the bright, shining straw, which gives it a very pretty and attractive appearance.

If, instead of covering the whole surface of the basket with the plain, silvery straw, she desires to work in some pattern or design, she effects this by changing her straws, at certain points, according to the requirements of the figures chosen, for strips of coloured bark, which are wrought in the same way as the straws, and in this manner she produces the beautiful imbricated basketry typical of the Fraser River Indians.

The colouring employed in the designs is invariably yellow, black, and red. The yellow is the grass already described, the black is produced by dyeing wild cherry or birch bark, and the red is the cherry bark in its natural state. The dyeing is effected in several ways, the commonest of which is to bury the bark in black mud or peaty ground for a time.

It is not always easy to follow verbal descriptions of

technical work, but it is hoped the reader has been able to gather a clear idea of the technique of imbrication from the above description. It has been thought worth while to describe the process with some particularity because of the extreme rarity and uniqueness of this kind of basket ornamentation.

Of woven basketry the Salish possessed several varieties, specimens of which are found among all the divisions. But just as the coiled-work is characteristic of the lower Fraser tribes, so the woven-work may be said to be characteristic of the Vancouver Island tribes. Here we find many varieties of woven basketry, the detail of which may perhaps be gathered from the accompanying Plate XXII., where seven different kinds may be seen and also some examples of bed and wall matting.

The materials employed in the manufacture of this basketry are the inner bark of the cedar, split cedar branches, thin, uniform strands of cedar wood, of which the checker-work is mostly composed, and various swamp grasses, of which the bulrush is the commonest specimen.

The Bella Coola Salish, whose habitat is on the coast north of the main stock on Bentinck Arm, make very neat baskets, as well as hats, and water-tight vessels from woven cedar root, which they use in a very different way from that of their tribesmen of the Fraser. According to Swan, an early investigator of this region, they first boil the cedar roots to make them more pliable and then beat them with sticks and work them with the hands, after which they pick the

fibres apart into single threads. These they weave into a warp of different material—sinew of the whale or threads of dried kelp,—the long whip-like stalks or stems of that seaweed from which the Salish sometimes made their oil bottles, spoken of in the last chapter. They are also expert in weaving the inner bark of the cedar into baskets and other things.

Concerning the very general use of cedar bark among the tribes of this region, Mason has made the following pertinent observation: 'It is not astonishing that a material so easily woven should have found its way so extensively in the industries of this stock of Indians. Neither should we wonder that the checker pattern in weaving should first appear on the west coast among the only people possessing a material eminently adapted to this form of manipulation. It is only another example of that beautiful harmony between man and nature which delights the anthropologist at every step of his journey.'

Passing now to the bark vessels, we shall choose for special description those which are found among the Carrier tribes of the Déné stock. North and east of the coiled-basketry area bark receptacles may be said to be the vessels most commonly used for cooking and liquid-holding purposes.

Two different barks are in use in the manufacture of these vessels—birch bark and spruce bark. The latter is used only in the larger, coarser receptacles, the former is the material most commonly employed. We shall find when we come to speak of the boats and canoes of our two stocks that this material among the

Déné Birch-bark Canoes, Great Stone Lake

*Photo by C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.*

*To face page 121*

north-eastern Déné enters largely into the manufacture of these also—indeed, there is no material among the North American Indians which has been more widely employed for water service than the bark of the birch-tree. The reason of this is not far to seek. If nature had deliberately set herself the task of providing primitive man with the most workable and convenient material for water service, she could hardly have done better. It is easy to procure, handy and light, making a vessel which is readily and quickly transported from one body of water to another without waste of time or effort, thus rendering it possible to traverse vast stretches of the country wholly by means of its waterways with the same vessel. The 'Bourgeois' and 'Voyageurs' of the Hudson's Bay Company were accustomed to travel from the shores of the Bay after which the Company is called, or, indeed, from Montreal itself, to their far distant posts beyond the Rockies, a course, by the way they went, of from two thousand to three thousand miles, almost entirely by water in the canoes they set forth in.

The birch-bark vessels of the Carriers were of various kinds and sizes. Father Morice has figured the most characteristic of these.

Each vessel is made from one piece of bark, and this was the invariable method employed in the manufacture of these receptacles, whatever the size and whatever the use to which it was intended to put them.

To finish off and give the necessary strength and stability to the rims of the vessels, they are encircled on the inner or the outer side, according to their use, with

a small rod, which is generally fastened to the bark by over-casting, the threads for which are made from spruce root. To break the monotony of the stitching strips of cherry bark are inserted at times about the middle of each of the sides of the vessel.

The larger of these bark receptacles have a capacity of from four to ten gallons, and the uses to which they are put are manifold. 'While the women are gathering berries it serves to bring home the fruit which has been immediately gathered in the smaller vessels. In the lodge it is the receptacle of clothing, of the sewing implements of the women, of the trinkets of the children, etc. Moreover, it serves frequently to 'cache' up close to the house any household chattels which it is thought expedient to protect from mice. When thus employed it is suspended, carefully covered with birch bark, from the lower limbs of a branchy evergreen.' None of the Déné vessels have lids to them.

The oblong shallow vessels called in the Carrier tongue *thel*, which means 'receptacle,' have inserted between the bark and the encircling rim-rod on both of their long sides, two buck-skin thongs, to which is fastened a neat yarn string by which the vessel is suspended from the back of the neck. It is consequently thus carried on the breast, while the larger vessels just described are carried, as most other burdens are carried in this region, on the back, sometimes two at a time one above the other. There is no commoner sight than a 'Klutchman'—the name usually applied by the whites to the native women of

British Columbia—'packing' one or two baskets of shell-fish or fruit, or some other commodity, on her back with the packing strap across her forehead, the universal method of 'packing' among all the natives of this region.

Sometimes dyed horse-hair, arranged so as to produce a geometrical figure, is employed in the decoration of these receptacles, though the best and most elaborate of their ornamentation is poor beside that on the coiled basketry of the Salish. The capacity of these *thel* varies from a pint to two gallons. They are put to many uses like the larger vessels, but they are primarily berry-baskets, and several of them will customarily be found in every household. The smaller ones are not uncommonly used as drinking vessels.

The 'fish-tray' among the Déné takes the place of the wooden dishes and coiled and woven plaques of the Salish. They are, as a rule, constructed differently from the berry-baskets, being generally seamless. To effect this the corners are merely folded up and tucked under the encircling rim-rod, which in this case is placed on the outside of the vessel, a double lining of bark, one on the inside and one on the outside, being added to the edge to render it stronger and more durable.

In length these fish-trays are from twelve to eighteen inches, the width being commonly about half the length.

We have yet to describe the Carrier water-bucket and kettle. The interesting feature about the former is the narrowing of its upper part for the purpose of

more conveniently carrying its liquid contents. It is made water-tight by the addition of spruce gum to the seams and stitching.

The kettle is, like the fish-tray, seamless, or, to be quite accurate, its corners are turned up and folded over, but in addition to being held in place by the edge-rod, a few stitches are put in the outer side of the fold to hold it down close to the body of the vessel. By means of these bark boilers the natives formerly cooked their roots, fish, and meat; and notwithstanding the frailty of the material used in their manufacture, they made excellent and serviceable vessels. Strange as it may seem, they were hung directly over the fire like our metal pots and kettles, only care of course had to be exercised that the flame did not come into contact with them. Nor did they wear or burn out as quickly as might be supposed; the parts that wanted renewing oftenest were not the bodies of the receptacles, but the rims, which had to be replaced from time to time. The Indians say they made most excellent and rapid boilers.

Metal pots and pans have now almost everywhere superseded the bark kettle and the water-bucket, but the other bark vessels are still in common use among the Déné.

As the Carriers, like the Salish, had their occasional potlatch and other ceremonial gatherings at which numbers assembled, and food was cooked in large quantities, something bigger than these cooking-pots was necessary in the preparation of the feast. The cooking-vessels used on these occasions were the large

cedar boxes, employed by the coastal tribes as treasure-chests. These were not of home manufacture, but were obtained by barter from the coast people. In these the provisions were boiled by means of the cooking-stone; and being of goodly dimensions large quantities of food could be cooked at a time in them.

The jam caldron of the Carriers, referred to in the last chapter, is composed of two parts—the boiler proper, and the juice-receiver. It is constructed in the following manner: A shallow excavation is made in some sandy spot, and in this is placed one end of the shallow oblong bark tray. This is the reservoir for collecting the juice; and by being thus placed at a slight inclination the juice or liquid part of the jam collects in the lower end where it may easily be dipped out as necessity demands. In the higher end of the tray a sheet of spruce-bark is drawn into a circle, the outer edges of which touch those of the upper or higher part of the tray. This circle of bark is held in place by sticks driven into the ground about it, which are secured to its upper edges. At the bottom of this a layer of twigs is spread which acts as a strainer. The fruit is boiled and the preserve made as described in the last chapter.

Besides the bark 'packing' vessels the Déné everywhere used a kind of wallet.

The material of which these are made was not everywhere the same. Among the northernmost Déné strips of moose-hide was the common material, but among the Carriers caribou-hide was mostly used. Packing bags or wallets of this kind are still in common use

among the Déné. They serve to carry light burdens for short distances; they are also commonly employed as game bags.

The Déné tribes of the far north that live upon the banks of the Yukon, the Loucheux or Kutchin, as they are variously called, possess, in addition to the usual birch-bark vessels, wooden, trough-like, food dishes and kettles made of woven tamarack roots. These latter are said to be very neat in appearance, and are not uncommonly ornamented with hair and porcupine quills dyed in berry juice. Their contents are boiled, as among the Salish, by means of the cooking-stone.

## CHAPTER VII

### IMPLEMENTS OF WAR AND THE CHASE

THE principal weapon in both war and the chase, but particularly the latter, prior to the introduction of firearms, was the bow and arrow. This was everywhere in use, in all the divisions of both Salish and Déné, the material, style, and dimensions varying with each. In the construction of the bow the yew was the wood most commonly employed, but this did not grow in every district, and other woods had to be substituted for it where it could not be procured. Among these were the hemlock, the dogwood, the willow, the mountain-maple, and the juniper. Among many of the interior tribes the last mentioned was the chief material employed.

Some of the Déné hunting tribes, such for example as the Sikani, still use the bow with a blunt arrow for shooting birds, but elsewhere this weapon has been generally superseded by the gun and rifle.

The material of the arrows was still more varied than that of the bows.

In length the bows varied from two and a half feet to five and a half or even six feet. Those of the coast Salish were the shortest, seldom exceeding three feet in length. The average length of those of the interior

hunting tribes was about four and a half or five feet. The longest bows were found among the Sikani, the regular size of whose hunting bows was close upon six feet. In all the divisions of both stocks the natural strength and elasticity of the wood of the bow was augmented by the application of sinew, or cherry bark, or snake skins, mostly the former. These materials are glued to the wood.

The method of handling the bow differed from tribe to tribe, some tribes holding it perpendicularly and some horizontally. Among the regular hunting tribes the bow was frequently highly ornamented. Great care was taken in the preparation of the bow-string, so that it should not be seriously affected by changes in the weather. Among the hunting tribes delicate threads of sinew were twisted together and afterwards rubbed with glue obtained from the sound of the sturgeon. The gum of the black pine was also extensively employed for this purpose, where the sturgeon glue was not procurable.

Among some of the tribes one end of the bow carried a stone point similar to those used on the spears. It could thus be utilised as a thrusting weapon if the hunter was hard pressed, and had no spear at hand.

The arrows of both stocks were customarily feathered, the feathering consisting of three split feathers applied spirally, or two whole feathers laid on flat. Sometimes one method and sometimes the other was employed in the same tribe.

The points of the arrows of the interior tribes were

commonly of stone, but bone and steel points were not uncommon among the coastal tribes. Iron and copper were also known and employed as arrow-points before Vancouver's and Mackenzie's time. The earliest source of these materials was probably the Russian traders of North-Eastern Asia and Alaska.

Both arrow and spear points represent almost every style and variety known. Leaf-shaped points were those commonly used for hunting purposes, barbed points being preferred for warfare.

The commonest material employed over a very large area in the manufacture of arrow- and spear-points was a dark fine-grained stone known to geologists as augite-porphyrite. In addition to this, arrow-tips were also made from agate, rock-crystal, quartz, chert, obsidian, and many other crystalline rocks, and also from slate.

The arrows were commonly carried in quivers of dressed hide, which were often elaborately decorated. In some divisions, notably among the interior tribes, the arrow-points were poisoned, various substances being used for this purpose, some vegetable and some animal. The commonest and most deadly was the poison taken from the fangs of the rattle-snake.

Besides the bow and arrows for offensive purposes, they had knives, daggers, spears, war-clubs, and tomahawks. For protective purposes in warfare they employed shields and coat-armour.

The shields varied in form and material from tribe to tribe. Among the interior Salish they were commonly made of wood, which was afterwards

covered with hide. Sometimes they consisted of several thicknesses of hide only. The hides most commonly used for this purpose were those of the elk, buffalo, or bear. After the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company some of the Indians used to beat out the large copper kettles they obtained from the trading posts, and make polished circular shields of these. In some centres long rectangular shields made from single or doubled sheets of stiff elk-hide were employed. These were often from four to five feet in length, and from three to four feet in width, large enough to practically cover the whole body. They were fastened to the neck with a thong, and thumb-loops were attached to their sides, by means of which the wearer could move them to cover any part of the body exposed.

Among the Déné tribes the shield was commonly made of closely-woven wicker-work, and was of an ovaloid form.

The coat-armour was everywhere employed, and varied in form and style in almost every centre. There were two ways in which this was most commonly made. One of those was the slatted cuirass or corset, which was formed of a series of narrow slats of wood set side by side vertically, and fastened in place by interlacings of raw hide. It went all round the body like a shirt, and reached from the chin to the hips, being hung from the shoulders with straps. The other was a kind of shirt of double or treble elk-hide, fastened at the side with thongs, and having a heavy fringe at the bottom.

Another kind of armour, less common than that just described, was the long elk-hide tunic, which reached to or even below the knees, and was sleeved to the elbow. The Thompsons, who sometimes used these, commonly soaked them in water just before wearing them, the effect of which was to make them arrow-proof; but a heavy off-set to this advantage was their excessive weight and cumbersomeness, and they were consequently not largely employed. Among the Déné this kind of armour was made of moose-skin, and in order to make it invulnerable to the arrow it was prepared in a more elaborate way than among the Thompsons. It was first soaked in water, then repeatedly rubbed on the sandy shore of a stream or lake, and dried with the sand and small pebbles sticking to it. After this it was thickly coated with a strong tenacious glue made from certain parts of the sturgeon. This process was repeated several times till the hide was perfectly arrow-proof.

Both shields and armour were commonly decorated with geometrical, animal, and other designs in paint, or with dyed feathers and quills.

The spears used by all the tribes were for thrusting and not for casting. For hunting in the forest short-handled spears were preferred. They were almost invariably stone-tipped.

The war-clubs were made in various styles of bone or wood or stone, the latter being the commonest material.

The tomahawks were of two kinds; one made from stone, and the other from the young pointed horn of

the deer. This latter was a very deadly weapon at close quarters. The English equivalent of its native name is 'skull-cracker,' and nothing was ever more appropriately named. A single tap on the head from one of these instruments laid a man out at once, leaving a hole in his brain-cap as neatly cut as if it had been taken out with a punch. Many skulls have been found with holes of this kind in their crowns.

Some of the utensils employed in the capture of fish have already been spoken of, but nothing has yet been said of the fishing-spears or harpoons. These very ingenious weapons were made in different styles in the different tribes. Some are made with fixed, and some with detachable heads, the points being held to the haft of the harpoon by long plaited lines. When the fish is struck these points detach themselves from the shaft, and the fish is drawn ashore by means of the line. The double-pointed harpoon was that most widely used, though in some centres the single-pointed weapon was chiefly preferred. The heads or points are generally made of bone or horn and are heavily barbed.

All the hunting tribes were skilful in the use of snares, of which several kinds were employed. There was the 'fall trap,' made of logs for the larger game, such as the bear, etc., the 'noose trap,' the 'spring trap,' and the 'pit trap.' This last was employed for all kinds of game, and consisted of a simple hole in the ground with sloping sides, the top of which was covered with brushwood, branches, leaves and dirt to

mislead the game. The hole was generally dug in some well-frequented water trail.

Of the implements indirectly used, both in war and the chase, the canoe was probably the most important, particularly among the delta and coastal tribes. Here the deer were mostly hunted with dogs, which were trained to drive the animals into the water of the bays and inlets, where the hunter lay in wait for them in his canoe. To shoot or spear the animals in the water was an easy task, and great numbers were thus taken at times. The canoes, of course, figured largely also in fishing, and as the waterways were the only highways, they were also of the greatest use in locomotion. It will be fitting, therefore, to say something here about this most useful and common possession of the Indians.

The canoe of the coast and delta differed almost entirely in make, and absolutely so in material, from those in use in the interior. There the canoe was a roughly-made dug-out fashioned generally from the trunk of a cottonwood-tree; or else one made of a single piece of bark, stripped from the tree in lengths of about fifteen feet, and turned inside out to make the propulsion through the water easier. The bark commonly employed is a tough leathery pine-bark. This is set about a framework of cedar and sewn with strong wood-fibres similar to those used in basketing, or with strips of cherry-bark. Dr. George Dawson has described these canoes in the following words: In addition to the ordinary and always rough dug-out made from the cottonwood probably, and employed

on certain lakes or for crossing rivers, the Shushwaps in the eastern part of their territory in British Columbia made small and shapely canoes from the bark of the western white pine. These may still be occasionally seen on Shushwap Lake and in the vicinity of the Columbia. The inner side of the bark, stripped from the tree in one piece, becomes the outer side of the canoe, which is fashioned with two sharp projecting spur-like ends, strengthened by wooden ribs and thwarts internally; the whole is lashed and sewn with roots, and knot-holes and fissures are stopped with resin. The canoes thus made are very swift, and for their size, when properly ballasted, remarkably seaworthy.

The most striking and characteristic feature of these canoes is their snouty, ram-like extremities, which run to a point under the water, like the 'ram' of a modern warship. These canoes are not, strictly speaking, Salish vessels; they have been borrowed from the neighbouring Kooteney tribes, among whom they seem to have originated, this kind and style of canoe differing from any other craft known to the American tribesmen, its nearest analogue being found in Eastern Asia among the Yakut tribes.

In addition to these bark canoes and the dug-outs, the ordinary vessel of the interior tribes of British Columbia, a hastily made skin or hide canoe was occasionally used by hunters for crossing rivers or narrow lakes. This was constructed somewhat after the principle of the Welsh or Irish coracle, the skin or hide of some large animal being wrapped about

a slight framework of wood, which was discarded as soon as the transit was effected.

Most of the western Déné now use the cottonwood dug-out; but according to the traditions of the Carrier tribes the birch-bark canoe was formerly the commonest water conveyance employed by them. This latter is in universal use among the eastern Déné, examples of which may be seen in one of the Plates. The dug-out is found among the Kutchin and other northern tribes, but here it is ordinarily fashioned with more skill and care, and is by no means an unshapely vessel.

The typical canoes of the coastal and delta Salish are also, technically speaking, 'dug-outs,' but of such a kind and order as easily to excel dug-outs in any part of the world. Their buoyancy, their graceful outlines and finish, their ofttimes great dimensions and carrying capacity place them in a class by themselves; and the cedar canoes of the North Pacific slope may be said to be as characteristic of that region as its remarkable climate or its wonderful forests.

Attention has already been drawn to the cedar-tree of British Columbia, and the many uses to which it was put by the natives. Not the least important of these was the furnishing of the wood for their canoes. A suitable tree is felled and cut to the required length. In pre-trading days this was effected by means of stone axes and chisels, though very little actual chopping was done, the felling and cutting being accomplished by means of the chisel somewhat after the manner in which the beaver fells and cuts up

trees; and it is quite likely the natives received their first suggestion as to the felling of trees from this sagacious animal.

By means of the chisel and their stone hammers two circular and parallel incisions are made in the trunk about nine or ten inches apart, and the wood between these is then prised or picked out piece by piece, the incisions being deepened as the work proceeds. This method of felling timber is necessarily slow and tedious, but time is rarely of great moment to the savage, and in due course they topple over the biggest trees in this way. When down, the piece for the canoe is cut from the trunk in the same manner, or else it is burnt off. The log is now barked and faced on one of its sides, after which it is hollowed out by means of fire and adzes. The same agency is used to shape the ends of the log. However it may be shaped and hollowed, it is always finished off with the adze. This, of course, is now universally of steel, an old file being not uncommonly ground down for this purpose; but the shape of the old stone tool is everywhere retained. This, with the exception of the axe, is the only tool employed in the construction of the canoe. The thickness of the shell varies with the size of the vessel, the smaller canoes being about an inch, the larger ones nearly two inches thick. The canoe-maker judges the thickness by feeling alone. He places the tips of his fingers against the wood, one hand inside, the other out, and by this means he will regulate the thickness of the sides and bottom with a nicety that approaches almost absolute uniformity.

TYPICAL COAST SALISH CANOES

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 137

In shaping the canoe in the rough it will be given a very different outline from what it will eventually have. A distinct longitudinal concavity is given to the bottom and a corresponding convexity to the top; in other words, when the canoe is hollowed out the bottom will belly upwards at the centre, and the gunwales will have the same upward sweep at this point. It is here that the skill and experience of the canoe-maker comes in; this form is given to it to allow for the spreading—almost all of their canoes being spread or broadened out after being hollowed. It is not at all uncommon to give a spread of two feet to a canoe cut from a three feet log; that is to say a canoe with a beam of five feet will be constructed from a log three feet in width. This spreading is effected by means of fire and hot water. When the shell is ready for the operation, fires of smokeless embers are kindled all round the outside of it, at such a distance from the wood as will heat it without unduly scorching it. The inside is then filled with water, which is brought to a boil by heated stones. This plims and softens the fibre of the wood and allows of the expanding and stretching of the sides to the desired width. When this result is attained, fixed narrow thwarts are fastened to the sides by wooden pegs to keep them in the proper position. When the wood cools, the sides become rigid and maintain the shape given to them in the spreading without trouble. In the larger canoes the bow and stern pieces rise some feet above the level of the gunwales, and are added after the canoe is shaped and spread. They are skilfully morticed into

the gunwales and secured with wooden pegs, or else sewn on. Nowadays they are mostly nailed. As may be seen in some of the Plates descriptive of the dwellings of the coastal tribes, where their canoes also appear, there are several styles and varieties of canoes. The smaller vessels are the fishing canoes proper, the larger ones being used for general purposes and for transportation from place to place. These latter were the war-canoes of pre-trading days. Formerly each division had its own style of canoe, but the large canoes shown in the accompanying Plate are now in universal use among all the coastal and delta tribes. It is called the 'Chinook' because of its form, and is said to have been borrowed from the Chinook Indians of the Columbia River. It is characterised by its peculiar prow which invariably takes the form of the head and neck of some wolf-like animal. These canoes, which are from thirty to fifty feet long, will carry from sixty to seventy people, some of the larger ones even a hundred and an incredible quantity of freight.

All the canoes of this region are propelled by means of paddles and sails, though it is doubtful if the latter were used in pre-trading times. The paddlers used to stand to paddle in earlier days in the larger canoes, but invariably knelt in the smaller ones. Kneeling is the common attitude taken. The paddles are all single bladed, and vary somewhat in form, make, and material in the different tribes.

Among the tools that may be mentioned here, the most important are the stone hammers, axes, and adzes. These, though not actually employed in either

Salish Pestles, Hammers and Bowls

*To face page* 139

hunting or fighting, are yet used in the construction of those that are, and so may be properly spoken of in this connection.

Of the first of these, the hammer, at least three distinct forms or kinds are found among the native races of British Columbia. One of these is characteristic of the Salish tribes. They are pestle-shaped, and by the uninformed are commonly regarded as pestles. But this is an error; they are simply hammers and ordinarily used as such. Occasionally they may be employed by the old people to crush or pound tough meat or bones of fish, when other food is scarce; but as they had no grain and used no mortars, they were not used as pestles in the ordinary sense of that word.

The very large ones are generally rougher in make than the others, and are employed only for driving stakes. It is with these hammers, with the help of their horn or maple wedges, that they split out the cedar planks for their large permanent dwellings. With these also they drive the chisels with which they fell the trees for their canoes.

The striking part of the hammer is the base of it. The material from which they are commonly made is some kind of hard, close-grained, crystalline rock. For the larger ones a block of granite is not unusually employed. Some are roughly made, others are beautifully formed and polished. These latter are highly valued, and pass from father to son, from generation to generation, as treasured heir-looms. To make a new hammer is a lengthy and tedious process. A stone—

generally a water-worn boulder—is chosen, the natural outlines of which conform as much as possible to the shape of the finished tool. This is pecked into the desired form with another stone; the rough surface is then rubbed down with sandstones, after which it is smoothed with rushes, the final polish being put on with the naked hand. The old Indians will sit round the camp-fire during the winter evenings and rub away at these tools with their naked palms for hours at a stretch. To give the high polish some of them have takes two or three generations of 'rubbers,' and hence the great value set upon them by their owners.

Some tribes were formerly more noted than others for the number and excellence of their stone tools and implements. The Thompsons of the interior were pre-eminent in this regard among all the Salish. This was partly because, as we have pointed out before, they were in many respects the most advanced in general culture of all the Salish tribes, and partly because they possessed an abundance of the best kind of tool-making stones. All along the old benches of the Fraser, boulders of all kinds and sizes were easily found, among which were jadite and nephrite of varying colours and purity. It was from this region that most of the jade tools, found among the neighbouring tribes, came; and in particular the adzes, axes, and chisels. These were cut from the boulder in small slabs or slices by means of grit-stone files and water or by crystals, of which the agate was the commonest employed. The cutting was ordinarily done from both sides of the stone, the piece being

Salish Stone Ceremonial Bowls

*To face page 141*

broken off by a sharp blow when the two cuts approached each other. The rough edge of the fracture was then ground down smooth upon a sandstone, and the tool otherwise shaped and sharpened by means of the same agency. In using the chisel, to prevent it from fracturing under the blows of the hammer, the butt-end of it was commonly encased in a bone-socket; this, and not the stone, receiving the direct impact of the hammer.

The Salish possessed a great variety of stone bowls. These are used for different purposes, some for holding and mixing paints, some for 'medicine' and other ceremonial purposes in connection with the hunting or the gathering of their food. They were invariably carved or fashioned after the semblance of some animal, generally the totem of the owner. Occasionally a human figure is represented.

As the pipe figured largely in hunting and warfare, we will speak of this here also. Among the Déné smoking would appear to be a modern accomplishment according to Father Morice. The coastal Salish also do not seem to have used the pipe in pre-trading days, but among the interior Salish tribes there is no doubt that tobacco was early used. There are two distinct forms of pipes, one of which resembles an ordinary pipe and is clearly borrowed from the whites. The other is distinctly native and resembles nothing so much as a huge cigar-holder. Pipes of this latter shape are now rare, being found only in ancient graves. The tobacco used seems to have been a real tobacco, some species of this plant being native to the habitat of

the Okanagons. In other centres, where the tobacco plant was not found, other vegetable substances were utilised, the commonest of which was the bark of certain willows. Even now some of the old Indians mix this with the tobaccos which they obtain from the trading posts or stores, preferring this mixture to the pure tobacco.

The pipe was apparently used in all their public ceremonies, but exactly what its significance was has not been gathered.

Salish Stone Pipes

To face page 142

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL ORGANISATION

As the Déné are the most primitive in their social structure, we will deal with them first. For this purpose it will be convenient to consider them under a twofold division, an eastern and a western one. The latter reckon descent through the mother and the former through the father.

Among the western Nahane the tribes are divided into two exogamous divisions or phratries. The one is known as the Birds, the other as the Bears. Birds may not marry with Birds nor Bears with Bears. Each must take mates from the other. The clan groups are ruled by the hereditary nobles, as among the Carriers, who own the hunting-grounds and enjoy many other exclusive privileges.

The tribes beyond these again, the Kutchin or Loucheux, have the same social organisation with this difference, that they have three exogamic divisions or phratries called respectively the Fish, Bird, and Animal peoples.

Concerning the origin of these divisions and names it is impossible to gather any exact information. According to Mr. Jones, the Hudson Bay Factor, who made inquiries on the point, some of the Indians say that

it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people—the fish were the *Chitsah*, the birds *Tain-gees-ah-tsah*, and the animals *Nat-singh*; some that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and possibly more correct opinion, is that it refers to colour, for the words are applicable. *Chitsah* refers to anything of a pale colour—fair people; *Nat-singh* from *ah-zingh*, black, dark—that is dark people; *Tain-gees-ah-tsah*, neither fair nor dark, between the two, from *tain-gees*, the middle, half; and *ah-tsah*, brightish, from *tsa*, the sun, bright, glittering, etc. Another thing, the country of the Na-tsik-koo-chin is called Nah-t'-singh to this day, and it is the identical country which the Nat-singh occupied. The Na-tsik-koo-chin inhabit the high ridge of land between the Yukon and the Arctic Sea. They live entirely on the flesh of the reindeer and are very dark-skinned compared with the Chit-sangh, who live a good deal on fish. . . . Some of the Chit-sangh are very fair, indeed, in some instances approaching to white. They live largely on fish. The Tain-gees-ah-tsah live on salmon-trout and moose-meat, and, taken as a whole, are neither so fair as the Chit-sangh nor so dark as the Nah-t'-singh.

Passing south now to the Carrier division of the Western Déné, we learn from Father Morice that these tribes have four exogamous divisions or phratries called respectively Grouse, Beaver, Toad, and Grizzly-Bear. There is also some evidence that formerly a fifth division existed among them which was named the

Raven, but of this little is now known. Each of these phratries or *netse*, as the Carriers themselves style them, had its own heraldic emblem or carved figure of the animal after which it was named, to which, in former days, the members of the groups paid great regard and consideration, looking upon them as connected with themselves or their ancestors, in some close and mysterious manner.

The settlements or villages of the Carriers do not correspond to their exogamous divisions as among the Loucheux, members of each being found in almost every settlement both remote and near. The relationship existing between the members of these exogamous bodies is said to be closer and stronger than that of blood, and the exogamous regulations were very strictly carried out and enforced, marriage between blood-related individuals being easier of accomplishment than marriage between two members of the same phratry, however remote from each other their respective clans might be.

Though descent was counted exclusively on the mother's side among these tribes, the authority of the father was recognised to a considerable extent; for he had a voice in the disposal of his daughters in marriage, and frequently so arranged matters that his legal inheritor and successor—his sister's son—should marry one or more of his daughters. This was done that his own offspring might share in his property and not be wholly deprived under the clan rule of his possessions, as under their laws no hereditary property or rights could be alienated or passed over to the

members of another clan even though the recipients were the donor's own children. These laws and regulations were very strictly observed among the Carriers, and hence this practice of marrying a girl to her first cousin on her father's side.

We find among the Carriers three distinct castes, viz., the hereditary nobles, or *tenezas* as they are termed among themselves; a middle class or *bourgeoisie* whose rank or position is based upon personal property or wealth; and the common folk.

The tenezas were alone entitled to discuss and decide upon the affairs of the clans and local bodies, and were the absolute owners of the hunting-grounds. They only could use hereditary names, perform the ceremonies, and sing the songs in connection therewith, and wear insignia distinctive of their exalted rank.

Each local body or tribe contained several of these tenezas, who appear to have been the heads of the different clans or mother-related groups which made up the several phratries of the Carrier tribes. They were all of equal rank and authority, and if, as sometimes happened, one of them by reason of superior natural abilities, or reputed wealth, exercised a larger authority than his fellows, it was never that of a supreme head or chief, but rather that of an elder among brothers or equals.

These social classes were common to all the western Déné with the exception of the Sikani. Above and beyond these hereditary tenezas there was no higher authority, no central power, no political organisation, and no form of government. Each village or local

body was entirely independent of every other, and there was no connection between them other than was implied in their community of language and their phratriac ties; these latter carrying with them no allegiance outside a man's own clan, there being no recognised supreme head of the whole phratry or exogamous divisions.

Property among the western Déné was divided into two classes—private and personal property, such as clothes, utensils, dogs, etc., and real or permanent property, such as the hereditary estates or hunting-grounds. This latter kind applied only to the tenezas, or hereditary heads of the clans, who alone owned the hunting-grounds, the limits of which were always very clearly defined. The other men of the clans were supposed to hunt with and for the tenezas, receiving from them such of the spoils of the chase as they are pleased to bestow upon them or permit them to retain.

The personal property or belongings of the husband and wife always remained separate and distinct; and in pre-trading days neither could transmit or will to the other the smallest article. When the union between them was dissolved by the death of either, the relatives of the deceased stepped in and stripped the survivor of everything they could lay hands on; and, in addition to this, if it was the wife who had died the husband was expected to make her relatives substantial presents to console them for her loss.

Adoption was occasionally practised among these western Déné, but without any ceremonial formality; nor did the adoption entitle the person adopted to any

of his foster-parent's rights or possessions, a man's children, whether by actual birth or adoption, being considered his wife's, and therefore of another clan than his own ; and as all clan property, personal and otherwise, was inalienable, none could pass to the adopted son ; so that practically speaking the adoption was by the wife and her clan, though it may have been actually done by and at the wish of the husband.

Succession in the case of the tenezas or clan heads was a very formal affair and attended with great ceremony and much public feasting. It was the chief event in the social life of the Carrier tribes, and not less than six distinct and well-defined courses marked the occasion. The first, second, and last of these were mainly commemorative of the deceased noble, the other three celebrated the accession of the inheriting teneza to his predecessor's rank and titles.

When the head of a clan has passed away, invitations are sent broadcast to the members of the neighbouring clans to attend the mortuary ceremonies and assist at the investiture and induction of the new teneza. As soon as the expected guests, and all the clansmen of the deceased, who live in distant settlements, have arrived, the cremation of the body of the dead teneza takes place. This over, the heir-presumptive to the vacant teneza-ship gives a great banquet in honour of his departed relative. Sometimes a succession of such feasts are given night after night. They are thus conducted: large quantities of food of all kinds are prepared in one of the roomiest dwellings in the village, and when evening comes on and everything is

ready, the legal heir of the dead teneza goes out to the guests, and striking the ground at the feet of the more distinguished of them thus invites them without speaking to enter the banquet chamber. As they enter, the teneza-elect, who is the chief host, ceremoniously calls out the hereditary titular name of each, and points out with his ceremonial staff the seat assigned to him.

When all the visiting tenezas are seated, the feast begins. Each guest is supplied with a generous helping of food, double and treble portions being given to the nobles. After the distribution of the more solid portions of the meal has been made, copious draughts of liquid bear grease are sent round in horn ladles and spoons. When the guests have thoroughly satisfied their appetites the teneza-elect takes a quantity of dressed skins and tears them into long strips of a width suitable for making moccasins. These pieces of skin he hands to his assisting clansmen, who distribute them among the guests, all taking care that each of the nobles present receives a double number, or else the largest pieces.

The distribution of these strips of skin was an important part of the ceremony in the eyes of the Carriers. It was regarded as an act of atonement for the death of the deceased noble, gifts of such sort being looked upon as wiping out the shame and grief of the mourners.

The second course or feast came some time later, when a new supply of skins and eatables had been collected. The object of the gathering on this occasion

was the honouring of the remains of the late teneza, which were to be deposited during the feast in the appointed place of honour in the house. These remains consisted of the charred bones and ashes left over from the cremation. The widow had been carrying them in a bag or pouch on her person since the first feast, and she would continue so to carry them till the last. It was this custom of 'packing' or carrying the ashes of the dead which led the early traders to bestow upon this division of the Déné the name of 'Carrier.'

The third course was designated by a phrase which in English means 'the imposition of the feather down,' the significance of which was that the heir of the dead teneza was elevated to the rank of his deceased relative and was thenceforth to be numbered among the hereditary nobles. It was held only after the interval of a long and arduous hunt by himself and his whole clan; for the greater the distribution of food and skins the more highly esteemed and honoured would be the new teneza. The inhabitants of all the surrounding villages, and sometimes those from distant settlements, were invited on these occasions.

The night before the feast the teneza-elect and the leading men of his clan decide among themselves to whom the skins shall be given on the following day, after which they proceed through the camp in single file and place swan's down on the heads of those whom they intend to honour on the morrow. On the following morning the people all assemble in the largest lodge or dwelling in the village. Here stands

the teneza-elect dressed only in his loin-cloth. When all is ready for the ceremony to begin, his assistant takes some swan's down from a small satchel made from the neck skin of the swan and sprinkles it lightly on his hair. He then picks up one of the skins from the pile close by, and, first holding it up to the general gaze, puts it upon the shoulders of the new noble as one would a mantle. At the same moment another assisting clansman intones the late teneza's chant or private song, which is taken up by the entire assembly except the dead man's immediate relatives, who commence at the same time a deafening strain of lamentations. While the chanting and lamenting is going on, the first assistant continues to place the prepared skins one by one upon the shoulders of the new teneza, taking care as he does so that all present may see and count them. By this time the shoulders of the new teneza are fairly laden with mantles of skin, which are presently taken off and laid in a pile again. This is the signal for the chanting and lamenting to stop, and the dutiful tears of the sorrowing relatives of the late teneza dry up as if by magic. The chief assistant, who is the master of the ceremonies on this occasion, now blows swan's down into the air in such a manner that quantities of it fall upon the head of the new teneza. This act is significant of the latter's newly acquired dignity. Following this, the skins just exhibited are torn up and distributed, care being taken in the distribution that a goodly quantity of strips is set aside for any of the hereditary nobles who may be absent at the time. From this time onwards the new teneza is

duly recognised as a nobleman, but before he can enjoy all the prerogatives of his rank he must give three more feasts.

The fourth course, the name of which in English means 'He sits down,' is the occasion of his elevation to the seat of honour occupied by his predecessor. This generally takes place at a ceremonial banquet given by some other noble, and is preceded by a generous distribution of garments and dressed skins. These are regarded as the fee of admission to the traditional seat of his predecessor. When the new teneza enters the festive lodge he is always accompanied by his wife, who 'packs' the skins and clothing which he intends to distribute. These are extended in a line so that they may be seen and duly counted by the assembly, and some one proclaims aloud that they are to be distributed in honour of the donor's 'sitting down.' Distribution forthwith proceeds, and the new teneza then takes his appointed seat of honour at the feast. This concludes the fourth course.

The next course is a kind of preliminary to the final one. As soon as the date of this latter has been fixed a band of young men, on a certain pre-arranged evening, go to the new teneza's house and sit with him within closed doors. Later on in the same evening all the villagers, including his fellow-tenezas, gather outside, and at a given signal break into vociferous cheering, upon which a song is struck up to the accompaniment of a tambourine by the young men in the house. The door is now thrown open, and a teneza wearing the full insignia of his rank—the

wig and ceremonial apron, described in the chapter on dress, comes dancing in, bowing profoundly from time to time to the singers and the host, and thus proceeds to his place beside the latter. All the other notables then follow in their turn. When all are seated the new teneza serves his visitors with a simple repast, after which they retire to their own lodges.

In the summer following this last ceremony, which takes place during the winter, the final course is held. This is mainly intended to commemorate the death of the late teneza. Prior to its celebration some of the men and women of the neighbouring villages or settlements are invited to construct a new lodge for the dead noble's successor, while the tenezas retire to the woods away from the eyes of the curious and carve and prepare a pair of wooden masks which represent the faces of a man and woman. At the same time the most skilful workmen of the village carve out of a large cottonwood-tree two huge emblems or figures of the totem animal belonging to the clan of the new teneza. When finished, these are placed on either side of the entrance to the new lodge.

On the evening for holding the ceremony, when all are assembled in the new building, the notables who made the masks, hidden behind a screen formed by skins, adjust them to the heads and faces of two young men whose persons are carefully concealed by blankets. The curtain is now lifted, and the tenezas proceed to the centre of the assembly, and, attired in their ceremonial dresses, dance in a group, while the two masked youths make all sorts of comical move-

ments with their heads, to the great amusement of the people.

At the conclusion of the dance the nobles retreat behind the curtain, which falls again and hides them from view. This ends the ceremony for that night. Next day, in the morning, the grand banquet takes place, continuing often throughout the whole day. On this occasion the late teneza's personal property, which up to this time has remained untouched, is exhibited in full view of the assembled multitude amid the lamentations of his relatives. Then also the satchel containing his charred bones, which up to this time has been daily carried about on the back of his widow, is taken from her and suspended temporarily to the rafters of the house. The eatables are next distributed by the new teneza, who presently wipes his greasy hands in the hair of the widow, and then placing a new blanket about her shoulders addresses her in words to this effect: 'I hereby liberate thee from the bonds of thy late wifehood, so that thou mayest return to thy kindred and marry again if it pleaseth thee so to do.' Up to this time she could not marry if she would.

The new teneza now divides the personal property of his predecessor among the latter's relatives, stripping himself at times even of his own clothing to give them, leaving himself almost naked. After this part of the ceremony is over the grand and final distribution of skins and clothes, prepared and gathered for the purpose, takes place, and the ceremony is brought to a close by placing the ashes of the dead

noble in their last resting-place in a box which is deposited in a mortuary column previously erected for the purpose close by the village.

There remains yet one other feature to speak of in connection with these Carrier ceremonies. This is the gift-feast or 'potlatch.' The potlatch is a most ingeniously devised system peculiar to the North-West tribes of America for acquiring social prestige and influence, and at the same time laying up a provision for the future. By a well-understood rule, which is observed with a greater punctiliousness than any observance among ourselves, every recipient of a gift at a potlatch gathering is bound in honour to return another of double value to the donor or his legal heirs at some future time. And in this repayment his relatives and fellow-clansmen are expected to aid him if necessary. They indeed become his sureties; and the honour of the family, clan, gens, or even tribe, is involved in the repayment of the gifts.

The property usually distributed on these occasions consist in the main of skins, horses, personal clothing, blankets, guns, canoes, and, since the advent of the dollar, money. On one historic occasion presents to the value of $15,000 are known to have been distributed chiefly in the form of blankets, the old-time measure of wealth. On another the gifts consisted of 134 sacks of flour, 140 pairs of blankets, a large quantity of apples and other provisions, and $700 in currency. From 2000 to 5000 Indians meet together at these 'potlatch' gatherings. About twenty years ago one of the Vancouver Island chiefs gave a great

potlatch to about 2500 persons from different tribes. He feasted his guests for over a month, and then sent them home with his accumulated savings of the five previous years. This prolonged feast spread the fame of this man far and wide over the Province, and he was thereafter looked upon as one of the greatest of chiefs.

There can be no doubt that in earlier, pre-trading days, the effect of such a custom as the potlatch was on the whole good and beneficial, engendering as it did feelings of good-will and friendship between settlement and settlement and tribe and tribe and making war almost impossible between them.

It was stated above that two large figures of his clan's totem were made and placed on either side of the entrance to the new teneza's house. There was a double purpose in this. It not only marked the residence of the head of the clan, but it called also for recognition of the totem from the visiting tenezas, who each as he entered would be expected to honour it by laying at the feet of one or other of the figures a goodly present of clothes and hunting utensils. These presents after the departure of his guests, the new teneza would share among his clansmen, keeping such portion of them only for himself as he felt he would be able to make an adequate return for on some future festive occasion. All his fellow clansmen received their portions in the same spirit and on the same understanding.

The eastern Nahane reckon descent through the father, as do likewise both the western and eastern Sikani and all the other divisions of the Déné. But

their patriarchy is of a very inchoate, loosely defined kind. The tribes are divided up into a number of bands and these are always more or less on the move after the game upon which they have to subsist, the eastern Déné being essentially a nomadic people. This unsettled state of existence is doubtless the chief cause of their loose organisation.

According to Father Morice there are no totems and no exogamous divisions, the only bar to marriage being nearness of blood. A man secured his wife in various ways. A common way is to bespeak her from her father or the head of her gens when she is young. Early betrothals are therefore general among them. An equally common way for a youth to secure a wife is to assist the father of the girl he desired in hunting, thus winning her by his services. But when a man has secured a wife he might not be able to hold fast to or keep her; he may be called upon at any time to hand her over to another man. If one man desired another's wife all he has to do to secure her is to challenge her husband to a public wrestling match—a game or sport to which the eastern and northern Déné are very much addicted—and get the better of him in the match. By winning the bout he secures his opponent's wife. If the husband is obviously the weaker man, and stands no chance with his challenger and refuses the contest, the latter simply bids the woman follow him and leads her off.

Landed property such as hunting-grounds, etc., tribal or gentile, was quite unknown among these tribes, and though each band customarily hunted over the grounds

that their ancestors had occupied, they never regarded these as their exclusive property, nor contested the right of other bands to hunt there also if they desired. The members of a band usually hunted in concert, but each gens or family group looked after its own interests. At times, however, when united and concerted action was necessary to secure the game, the direction of the hunt would be left to the judgment and control of the oldest and therefore the most experienced of the eldermen. This was the nearest approach they ever made towards constituted central authority. The eastern Déné are savages pure and simple.

Leaving the Déné now and passing to the Salish, we shall see that the divisions of this stock differ as much from each other as do the Déné, only here the difference is of another kind. Matriarchy has everywhere been superseded by Patriarchy, and this again, in two of the three divisions, by the local or village Commune based on the co-parental family.

The simplest form of social organisation is found among the interior hunting tribes, where a state of pure anarchy may be said to have formerly prevailed, each family being a law unto itself and acknowledging no authority save that of its own elderman. Each local community was composed of a greater or less number of these self-ruling families. There was a kind of headship or nominal authority given to the oldest and wisest of the eldermen in some of the larger communities, where occasion called for it or where circumstances arose in which it became necessary to have a central representative. This led in some

centres to the regular appointing of local chiefs or heads whose business it was to look after the material interest of the commune over which they presided; but the office was always strictly elective and hedged with manifold limitations as to authority and privilege. For example, the local chief was not necessarily the head of all undertakings. He would not lead in war or the chase unless he happened to be the best hunter or the bravest and most skilful warrior among them; and he was subject to deposition at a moment's notice if his conduct did not meet with the approval of the elders of the commune. His office or leadership was therefore purely a nominal one.

All hunting, fishing, root and berry grounds were common property, and shared in by all alike. This communistic spirit of the inland Salish comes out more strongly in some centres than in others. In one particular tribe even the food was held and the meals taken in common, the presiding elder or headman calling upon a certain family each day to provide and prepare the meals for all the rest, every one, more or less, taking it in turn to discharge this social duty.

But as we leave the inland tribes and proceed down the Fraser, we find these simple communistic forms of organisation giving place to others more formal and complex. Society here is divided into more or less distinct castes and classes, and the office of headman, though still in theory elective, has become practically hereditary, passing generally from father to son in the same family. The strictly democratic equality of the interior tribes has disappeared and the communes are

now made up of the three orders of chiefs, nobles and base-folk; and the nearer we get to the coast the stricter and more inflexible these class distinctions become, until when we reach the Island tribes they are almost as set and rigid as those of the natives of India. Here we find a princely caste composed of the chieftains of the tribes or local bodies, whose office has now become absolutely hereditary, passing from father to son as regularly and unquestionably as does the crown of Russia; a hereditary and absolutely exclusive nobility, founded on birth; a middle class or *bourgeoisie* founded on wealth; a lower class made up of those who possessed neither 'birth' nor 'wealth,' and below these again a slave class. Between these classes or castes, with the exception of that of the common folk and the bourgeoisie, the walls of division were as rigid and inflexible as those which existed in French society prior to the Revolution. Once a slave always a slave; born without a 'grandfather' there was no way of securing one, the most a man could do was to rise to the rank of the bourgeoisie by giving feasts and presents, but no amount of wealth or potlatch giving could ensure entrance to the ranks of these hereditary nobility, nor could a noble aspire to the hand of a chief's daughter. Thus the castes were kept distinct and separate.

These tribes were more purely patriarchal in their family organisation than those of the mainland. The *gentes* of the hereditary nobles stand out as clear and distinct as did the *clans* of the western Déné. Each had its own list of historic names, its own

traditions and pedigrees of which they were inordinately proud. Rank and title descended from father to son, and though the relatives of the mother were recognised as akin to her children, and she had her own place in the family, the kinship was very different from that on the father's side.

The family pride and exclusiveness of the privileged classes is clearly brought out in all their social customs and functions, some of which bear an absurd resemblance to certain of those in vogue among ourselves. For example, on all occasions of festivity and social gatherings such as 'Potlatches,' Naming, Mortuary and Marriage feasts, the chiefs assumed lofty and condescending airs and held themselves apart from the rest. The hereditary nobles did the same, forming a second group, while the base folk formed another. The position of the intermediate class—the bourgeoisie—was rather equivocal, depending upon the degree of consideration paid them by the class from which they had risen, and the condescension of the hereditary nobles. Guests were received on these occasions by 'ushers' placed at the entrance of the festal chamber. It was the business of these officers to inquire the names and titles of the guests as they entered, announce their arrival to the host, and then see that they were seated according to their rank. As each social caste had its own names and titles, which indicated clearly the social status of its members, this was not a very difficult task. These ushers, or stewards of ceremony, were always elderly persons of rank who were well versed in the pedigrees of the

neighbouring nobles. Should any doubt arise as to the status of any individual, it could always be settled by inquiring the name of his father or grandfather.

This exclusiveness and family pride come out again in the marriage customs of these tribes. Before a union could take place between the son of one noble and the daughter of another, each family has to satisfy the other as to its social status and honourable descent.

The hunting, fishing, root and berry grounds among these island tribes were not held in common as among those of the interior of the Province. Each sept or local group had its own, which were hereditary and exclusive possessions.

In one of the coastal tribes, the Bella Coola, the social organisation was in some respects peculiar, particularly in the matter of marriage regulations. The tribe was divided into a number of local communes, each of which was very jealous of its own traditions and crests, and its rights to certain ceremonial dances, songs, etc. So highly valued and jealously guarded were these that it led apparently to the establishment of endogamous institutions among them. The members of each community were obliged by customary law to take mates only from among themselves, marriage outside the commune being forbidden. The custom would seem to have arisen from their desire to guard and retain within the limits of each group the legends, dances, etc., peculiar to that group.

Under the common Salish rule of marriage this could not be done, a daughter not unfrequently, where she had no brothers, conferring upon her husband her father's rank and privileges, his crests and family legends; so to guard against the passage of these beyond the commune or body to which they belonged, they would seem to have deliberately established endogamous institutions, making it unlawful for a person to marry outside the limits of his or her own community. At any rate, however the custom may have arisen, we find it firmly established in this tribe and apparently nowhere else.

The Potlatch was greatly in vogue among all the Salish tribes, but particularly among those on the coastal waters, and immense gatherings frequently took place during the winter months, and large amounts of property changed hands.

The coastal tribes also observed a semi-religious, semi-social ceremony, called by them the Smäitlas. It was their dance season *par excellence* and continued often through two moons. The common time for holding the Smäitlas was mid-winter. On these occasions, the partitions, dividing the long-houses into separate apartments, were taken down, and the buildings turned into immense halls. Their dances can scarcely be called dances in our sense of the word, nor did they much resemble the dances of primitive peoples generally; they were rather dramatic performances undertaken for the most part singly and individually, the 'dancer' personating to the best of his ability, by his actions and his cries, the creature

or thing which he regarded as his totem or guardian spirit. If two or more individuals happened to possess the same totem they would 'dance' simultaneously, otherwise they usually followed one another. The Smäitlas was the favourite season for holding 'Potlatches,' the whole period being sometimes given up to feasting by day and 'dancing' by night.

There is one other feature of the social life of the Salish to which attention must be called before we leave their social organisation. We refer to their practice of making and keeping slaves. The custom was common to some extent to all the tribes, but was more particularly found among those of the delta and coast. Every family of standing had its own body of slaves, both male and female. These did all the rough, dirty and laborious work, such as keeping the house clean, fetching water, and gathering firewood. These slaves were acquired by purchase or taken in war, and were almost invariably of the same race as their owners—that is to say of Salish blood; the different Salish tribes, particularly those speaking different dialects, often making war upon one another. These wars were usually very small affairs and might be more properly called forays. Bands of the younger, more warlike and restless men of a tribe would go off at times in their canoes and surprise some distant and unsuspecting settlement, kill such of the men as offered resistance, and carry off the others with the women and children and sell them to their wealthier, stay-at-home neighbours.

Slaves had no recognised status in the community;

they were regarded in the same light as the dogs—the absolute property of their owners, who might do as they liked with them. They do not appear, however, to have been commonly sacrificed at the death and burial of their masters as in some countries, though Teit has recorded that such was sometimes done among the Thompsons of the interior.

Female slaves were rarely if ever taken by their masters as concubines; such an union would have been considered dishonouring to the proud and exclusive nobles. Among some of the island tribes the slaves occupied quarters in the settlement apart by themselves. Slavery has of course been abolished among them since they came under our rule, but the descendants of those formerly slaves are still looked down upon and despised by the other Indians.

# CHAPTER IX

## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

RELIGION, in the ordinary meaning of the word, the North-West tribes had none. They recognised no Supreme Being who controlled the universe, no High Gods who ruled the destinies of men, nor even a 'Great Spirit' such as is ascribed, and wrongly so, to some of the eastern tribes of America, to whom they could pray for protection and help. The nearest approach they made to anything of the kind was found among some of the interior Salish, who at times invoked the Spirit of the Dawn, one of the many 'mystery' spirits with which they peopled their universe.

They believed in a multiplicity of spirits, that all nature, in all her forms, was thus animated. Every object had its own soul or spirit, which was distinct from the body or material form, and could separate itself from it and live an independent spirit or ghostly existence.

Not only were those objects which we call animate, that is living, sentient bodies, possessed of souls or spirits, but also every insensate object, the smallest and most insignificant in common with the largest and most impressive. A blade of grass, a stick, or a stone, the very tools and utensils they themselves made and

employed, each and all possessed spirit forms more real than their corporeal ones, because more permanent and indestructible. The material form of the object could be destroyed, the tool could be broken, the fish or the deer killed and eaten, but the spirit forms of these objects would still remain. Thus the spirit world was a very real world to them, ever present and ever encompassing them, was, indeed, the source of all the ills and pleasures of their existence. Whatever good luck might befall them was due entirely to the benevolence of the 'spirits,' as in like manner all their ill luck and misfortunes were due to their malevolence. They were ever at the mercy of the ghosts of things, whose pity must be implored, anger propitiated, and goodness recompensed; and every deliberate act of their lives was more or less conceived and carried out with this intent and purpose.

Among the hunting tribes of the interior we find all kinds of curious customs in regard to the treatment of the game, all of which are founded upon these animistic conceptions, and their belief in the mysterious powers of things. Among the Thompsons, for example, it was believed that when a deer was killed the other deer would be pleased if the animal was butchered nicely and cleanly and the blood and offal taken away or buried, and for a hunter to waste the meat of the deer was to deeply anger the animals, who would not thereafter permit themselves to be taken or killed by that person. Again, deer meat was never taken in through the common doorway of a lodge, because the women, who are ceremonially unclean and 'bad medicine' to

certain animals, passed in and out this way, and if the father of a pubescent girl went out hunting during her period of sequestration the deer would all evade him, and he would meet with no luck. Bear hunters often addressed their prey and begged it to come and be shot at. The grizzly bear was petitioned not to be angry with the hunter nor fight with him, but rather to take pity upon him and deliver himself up to him. The spirit of the bear was thought to be very powerful and mysterious, and when a man killed a bear he and those with him painted their faces and sang a bear song by way of propitiation and thanksgiving. Sometimes he prayed to the animal, thanking it for allowing itself to be killed. The bear, it was believed, was forewarned of its approaching death by signs just like themselves. When the flesh of a bear's head had been eaten, the skull was tied to a small tree-top, as high as could be reached, and left there. The men who placed the skull there always painted their faces before doing so. If these things were not done the bears would take offence, and would not permit themselves to be killed. Placing the head of a bear on a tree or a stone was a mark of respect and pleasing to these animals.

Hunters never talked lightly or made fun of any animal they hoped to trap or kill, but always spoke of it in respectful tones, and said, 'We *may* kill it,' never 'We *shall* kill it.'

Before the young people eat the first berries or roots of the season they always addressed the fruit or plant, and begged for its favour and aid. In some tribes regular First-Fruit ceremonies were annually held at

the time of picking the wild fruit or gathering the roots, and also, among the salmon-eating tribes, when the run of the 'sockeye' salmon began. These ceremonies were not so much thanksgivings, as performances to ensure a plentiful crop or supply of the particular object desired, for if they were not properly and reverently carried out there was danger of giving offence to the 'spirits' of the objects, and being deprived of them.

We have spoken of the liking the Indians had for the young shoots or suckers of the wild raspberry; the following is the kind of ceremony they hold in connection with the first gathering of these. When the shoots are ready to pick, that is, when they are about six or eight inches above the ground, the chief, or directing elder of the community, instructs his wife or his daughters to pluck a small bundle of these and prepare them for eating. This they do, using a new pot or kettle for cooking them in. In the meantime all the settlement comes together to take part in the ceremony. They stand in a great circle, the presiding chief, elder, or 'medicine man,' as the case may be, and his assistants being in their midst. Whoever is conducting the ceremony now silently invokes the spirit of the plants, the tenor of his prayer being that it will be propitious to them and grant them a good supply of the suckers. While the invocation is being made all in the circle must keep their eyes reverently closed, this being an essential part in all such ceremonies, the non-observance of which would anger the spirits and cause them to withhold the favours sought. To ensure

this being strictly done, the assisting elders are armed with long wands with which they strike any person found opening his eyes during the prayer. After this part of the ceremony is over the cooked suckers are handed to the presiding officer in a newly carved dish, and a small portion is given to each person present, who reverently and decorously eats it. This brings the ceremony to a close. Later, when the berries of this plant are ripe, a second and similar ceremony takes place.

In some tribes dancing is indulged in. They dance on these occasions in a circle with the hands extended palm upwards, before them, swaying their bodies from side to side with a rhythmic motion as they chant and dance, and as the dancing is about to end the master of the ceremonies, or officiating elder, bids the people raise their hands and cast their eyes skywards. All remain in this expectant attitude for a little while, and as the chief lowers his hands they do the same. In doing this they close them and put one over the other against their breasts, the action signifying that their request or petition has been granted. This performance is usually repeated three times, at sunrise, noon, and at sunset, and the spirit or power invoked would seem in these instances to be the sun.

The following is the way in which the salmon ceremony is conducted by the upper delta tribes. When the first 'sockeye' salmon of the season has been taken, it is brought reverently and ceremoniously upon the arms of the fisherman, who never touches it with his hands, to the 'medicine man,' or shaman, who

always conducts the salmon ceremonies in these tribes. He lays the fish on the ground upon a layer of fresh red-fir branches. He next selects one of the elders of the tribe to assist him, and these two now sit down and arrange before them on the ground a bundle of short rods. These rods all bear the totem names, and marks of the elders of the tribe, and are arranged in the order of the ages of the men they are intended to symbolise. The assisting elder now hands the rods in turn to the shaman, who lays them on the right lateral fin of the salmon, the side fins being regarded as the salmon's hands. He then formally introduces the rods to the salmon by name, saying, 'This is So-and-So who desires to welcome you and shake your hand.'

When all the elders have thus been vicariously introduced, and the salmon made welcome to the tribe, it is then ceremoniously boiled, and a small portion of its flesh given to each person present. When this part of the ceremony is over, every elder present brings forward a freshly-caught salmon and gives it to the shaman. The fish are placed on the ground before him, and as each man lays his salmon down the shaman's assistant calls out the tally, saying this is So-and-So's salmon. When all have presented their salmon the fish are straightway cooked, and the first salmon-feast of the season is indulged in by the whole tribe, with the exception of those who are debarred by various causes from eating fresh salmon. After the feast is over they all take part in a joint ceremonial dance, the shaman leading and directing the performance. He also makes formal thanks to Khals, the

tribal culture-hero, who is supposed to have first brought the salmon to them; he raises his arms aloft and casts his eyes skywards as he does so.

From this time onwards throughout the season any one is free to catch as many salmon as he likes, but no one would dream of taking a 'sockeye' salmon before this ceremony had been performed.

Religious dances and ceremonies, such as we have just described, belong exclusively to the Salish; they are practically unknown among the Déné; the only approach they make to anything of the kind being a joint performance carried out on the occasion of an eclipse. The Déné regard this phenomenon as due to the presence of scab on the sun or moon. To preserve themselves from this dread malady and hasten the cure of the luminary they assemble together silently and softly in the open, and, ranging themselves in a continuous file one behind another, begin a kind of propitiatory dance, bending their bodies forward as if carrying a heavy load, and, striking in cadence the right thigh with their hands, repeat over and over again in a beseeching tone a phrase meaning 'Come back therefrom.'

The Chilcotin tribes on such occasions neither danced nor sang, but merely walked round in a circle with their garments tucked up, men and women alike, till the eclipse was over.

The Carrier division of the Déné seems, according to Father Morice, to have had some vague, indefinite conception of a kind of celestial being who was the effective cause of the rain, snow, winds, and other celestial

phenomena. They called it by the native term of *Yuttoere*, which means 'that which is on high.' But they never worshipped this power, but rather feared and dreaded it, and sought at all times to get out of its way; or if this was not possible, to appease and propitiate it, and the spirits who were supposed to obey it, with the aid of their medicine-men. These men are supposed to have power over the spirits, and to be able by means of their incantations to direct and control them. They consequently possessed much influence, and their services were being constantly demanded. Shamanism played everywhere a very important part in the lives of the native races of this region. Believing, as they commonly did, that all pathological conditions of the body, all internal maladies and sickness, were caused by the presence or ill-will of spirits, it could hardly have been otherwise. Indeed, we may say that shamanism and totemism together made up the whole sum and substance of the religion of the tribes we are considering.

Among the Déné shamanism held the larger place; among the Salish, particularly those of the interior, belief in the sulia or guardian spirit predominated.

The shaman, or medicine-man of the American tribes, is not at all that arrant, self-conscious humbug that some writers have believed him to be. He believes in himself and his powers sincerely, and however much we may despise his methods and his knowledge, we cannot justly deny him sincerity if he be a typical member of his class. He is generally a person of peculiar psychical temperament, given by long prac-

tice to seeing visions, dreaming dreams, and passing into trances, in which he believes he holds converse with, and receives instructions from, his 'familiar spirits'; and such is the belief in his powers held by the people who seek and employ him, that if he tells them they will recover, unless their malady is a mortal one, or beyond the power of the mind to influence through their imagination, they will and do recover in a way which, if we did not understand how it comes about, would be truly remarkable at times.

Totemism—using the word in the American sense that is, as the doctrine of 'guardian spirits'—differs from shamanism mainly in the fact that it brings the individual into personal and direct relation with the spirits of things without the mediation of the medicine-man.

Among the native races of America this particular practice had a very great vogue, and we find it in one form or another all over the continent.

Among the Salish of the interior every man and woman customarily had his or her personal friendly spirit or spirits. The method of acquiring these seems to be practically the same everywhere. The seeker goes apart by himself into the forest or mountains, and undergoes a more or less lengthy course of 'training' and self-discipline. This course among the Salish continued for a period of from four days to as many years, according to the object the seeker had in view. Among the Salish everything goes by 'fours'; it is their mystic number. Those taking the longer 'course' are generally men seeking shamanistic or other special

'mystery' powers. Prolonged fasts, repeated bathings, forced vomitings, and other exhausting bodily exercises are the means adopted for inducing the desired state—the mystic dreams and visions. With the body in the enervated condition which must necessarily follow such rigorous treatment, the mind becomes abnormally active and expectant; dreams, visions, and hallucinations are as natural to the seeker in such a state as breathing; and it is not difficult for us to understand how real to him must seem the vision of the looked-for spirit, and how firm his belief in its actual manifestation.

The spirit of almost every object might become a totem, a few only lacked 'mystery' power. Certain objects or animals were more desired than others because of their stronger 'mystery' powers, and each class and order of the people had its own favourite and characteristic objects. This applied particularly to the shamans, who each possessed many 'familiars.' These were chiefly the spirits of objects which had reference to death, such as dead bodies or their parts, especially hair, teeth, skulls, nails, etc., nocturnal animals, darkness, grave-stones, and suchlike uncanny things.

The chief guardian spirits of warriors were the carnivorous animals, blood, thunder, etc., and all kinds of weapons. Those of hunters were all kinds of game, animals, canoes, snares, bows and arrows, and suchlike objects. Fishermen sought the spirits of the things relating to their occupation, such as water, canoes, fishing utensils, weirs, and also all kinds of water-fowl.

In the same way, the favourite guardian spirits of women were objects specially used by themselves, such as buckets, baskets, kettles, root-diggers, packing-lines, etc.

In the mind of the Indian, as in that of the savage in general, the form of the thing and the spirit of it were one and the same; the connection between the two was most intimate and binding. Hence when a man believed himself under the protection of the spirit of a thing, his first act was to secure this thing, in whole or in part, and wear it upon his person, or, if this were not possible, hide it in some secure place where he could resort to it in time of trouble or need.

He had still another and even surer way of keeping himself 'in touch' with his guardian spirit, and that was by assuming and taking to himself the mystery name of the object which was his totem. This the spirit revealed to him when it conferred its protection upon him. It has been pointed out that the names most commonly used by primitive races are those of animals, plants, and other natural objects. Here, then, was the origin and reason of this custom. *Names* are more to the primitive mind than to ours. The savage does not look upon them in the same light as we do. They are not to him mere tags or labels to distinguish one person from another; they are part and parcel, essential attributes, of the thing itself, intimately and mystically connected with it. Consequently when he assumes the name of a thing he believes and feels himself to be closely bound to and associated with the spirit of that thing, and the spirit

with him. *Names* are mystery words, potent for good and ill, and not to be lightly used or uttered. He who knows the mystery name of a thing, has that thing in his power. Hunters who knew the mystery names of the game animals could call them to come and be killed.

In almost the same way as he looks upon names the savage looks upon carvings, paintings, and other representations of objects. Between the object and the emblem, symbol or representation of it, there is in his mind a close and intimate relation; so close and intimate indeed, that where the former is the latter must needs be also. Hence, a very common practice among the Salish of covering up the family or kin totem-figures which are customarily carved on the beams or painted on the sides of their houses, and hence the use of masks and figures of the totem in their dances. To wear the mask of one's totem was to be, for the time being, the totem itself, or at least to be so intimately associated and connected with it that the dancer and it were regarded as one.

It is not easy to gather any definite information regarding the ideas held by savage and uncultivated peoples as to the nature of the soul or spirit. Some of the Déné believed that the soul which quickened the body of a man was nothing more than his natural warmth (*nezel*) which died with the body; but besides this soul or vivifying principle, they held that he possessed another self or shade (*netsin*), which was invisible as long as he enjoyed good health, but appeared wandering about in one form or another

whenever disease or death was imminent. In order, therefore, to prevent either the one or the other they bent their efforts, through the agency of the shaman, towards catching and bringing it back to the body. With this end in view, they would hang up in the evening the patient's moccasins previously stuffed with feather-down, and next morning should the down be warm they would with great care and silence put them back on his feet with his supposed shade therein. Whenever a person lost consciousness it was thought that his shade or double had left the body and gone to the land of Shades. After death this double of a person was then supposed to be the impalpable form of that person's previous self. It was then thought of under another name, *nezul*.

Concerning the state of these shades or spirits and the regions they inhabit after death, the Dené notions are very vague and even contradictory, not that they are singular in this respect, our own even are not altogether definite and consistent. They were not the traditional happy hunting-grounds of the North American Indians, and indeed were not desirable regions at all. The condition of the spirits must have been not a little miserable, since their food was commonly supposed to consist of dried toads, which the Dené, in this existence, consider the loathliest of animals. Death, therefore, among them must have been greatly dreaded. The following abbreviated myth, for which we are indebted to Father Morice, gives a fair notion of the kind of place the Carriers conceived the land of the hereafter to be: A long

time ago, two young men having lost themselves in the forest reached, in the course of their wanderings, a certain spot where the trunk of a tree, entirely hollowed out by age and decay, was lying on the ground. Out of curiosity they crawled in to see where the hollow led to, as only one end of the tree was visible. After crawling in some distance they came to a place full of snakes, toads and lizards. Much frightened, they now endeavoured to go back, but could not do so,—it was an awful place. Summoning up their courage they pushed forward again, and after a long underground journey the road widened out and the darkness ceased. Suddenly they found themselves on the top of a hill commanding the view of a broad river, on the opposite side of which stood a village. This consisted of an immense number of houses, some of which were black and others red. It was the abode of the shades, who were disporting themselves on the green. They were in countless numbers, and were making the most deafening uproar in their excitement over the sports they were engaged in.

One of the young men became frightened and ran off and hid himself in the bush; the other, perceiving some black and red canoes, hauled up on the far side of the river, shouted for somebody to come and take him across. But the tumult the shades were making was so great that nobody heard him. At last, being tired with shouting, he inadvertently yawned and the movement of his jaws at once caught the attention of the ghosts. It may seem singular to us, but yawning among primitive peoples is often regarded as highly

ominous, in that it is thought to be a calling back of the departed ghosts to earth.

Some, at least, of the Salish tribes hold the same belief, and hence in this story the attraction of the attention of the Shades. Some one now comes across to fetch him. But as soon as the youth put his foot into the canoe the part he stepped upon sank immediately under him, as if the bottom had been made of some highly elastic material. The spirits observing this, now smelt him, and said one to the other, " He does not smell of smoke," implying thereby that his body had not been cremated. They thereupon madly seized him in their fleshless arms and tossed him up and down in the air till nothing of him remained save his empty skin. In this state they threw him into the river, where a big fish swallowed him.

His companion, who had observed all that had happened from his hiding-place, now set out to return to the land of the living, and after a terrible time managed to retrace his steps and relate the fate of his companion and all that had befallen himself.

In the chapter on 'Folk-tales' we present an interesting myth which illustrates the ideas held by some of the Salish regarding the afterworld and the state of disembodied spirits and shades.

# CHAPTER X

## SOCIAL CUSTOMS

As might be expected, we find the social customs of the Déné tribes to be of a more crude and primitive order, generally speaking, than those among the more advanced Salish. Marriage, for example, among them is, as a rule, a very informal and simple affair. We have already shown in the chapter on Social Organisation how the eastern Déné commonly procured their wives and how loosely they held them. Among some of the western Déné tribes there was scarcely any more formality. In the north, indeed, among the Loucheux, according to Mr. Strachan Jones the Hudson's Bay Factor, the taking of a wife was a mere matter of arrangement between the husband and the girl's father. A man often took a young girl ten or twelve years old for his wife, but this was more as a precaution against losing her than to actually make her his wife at that age.

Among the western Nahane a wife is secured by purchase. The buyer may pay the full price agreed upon at once, or by instalments, and should the woman die the husband is entitled to one of her sisters, if she has any, without further payment, other than such as he may voluntarily make.

Among these tribes, which are organised on a matrilineal basis, a father often married his son to his own sister, that is to the boy's aunt, without taking into account the disparity of their ages, for she may be fifty and he but fifteen. There was a special object in this; it permitted the father to pass over, through his sister, his own property and belongings to his own son, which under the matrilineal rule could not be otherwise done; a man's own children not inheriting any of his property directly because they did not belong to his clan. As polygamy was common in all the tribes, the number of a man's wives being limited only by his wealth or ability to provide for them, the youth was free to marry a younger woman as well if he so desired.

With the exception of the Carrier tribes early marriages were everywhere the custom, the girls being often barely pubescent when taken to wife.

Probably the simplest and least formal mode of marriage was that found among the Sikani. Here, when a man has made up his mind to take a wife, he 'proposes' to the girl of his choice in the following words: 'Will you pack my beaver snares for me?' This is tantamount to asking her to be his wife, and is understood as such by the girl. If she is agreeable she will reply without any blushes or coyness: 'Perhaps, ask my mother.' But the man apparently never does anything of the kind. The girl informs her mother herself, who instructs her to build a lodge alongside of their own, it being contrary to the custom of the Sikani to permit their married children to dwell

under the same roof as themselves; this custom is rarely found in any other part of the American continent. That same evening the youth comes to the new lodge, where the girl is waiting for him, and hands her his beaver-snares. This act constitutes the marriage, and they are now man and wife.

If, on the contrary, the girl does not desire to become the young man's wife, she replies to his question thus: 'No; there are plenty of women, ask another.'

Among the Salish tribes the marriage unions were everywhere more or less formal affairs, and very differently regarded.

Among some of the coastal tribes it was formerly the custom, when a young man took a fancy to a girl and desired to make her his wife, for him to go to the house of the girl's parents and squat down with his blanket wrapped about him just inside the door. Here he was supposed to remain for four days and nights without eating or drinking. During this period no one of the girl's family takes the slightest notice of him. The only difference his presence makes in the house is to cause the parents to keep a bright fire burning all night. This is done that they may readily perceive that he takes no advantage of his proximity to the girl to make love to her or otherwise molest her during the night. On the fourth day, if the suitor is acceptable to the parents, the mother of the girl asks some neighbour to tell the youth that they are willing to accept him as their son-in-law, and give him the girl. To himself they say nothing, nor do they in any way take the slightest notice of him, as no communication of any

kind can take place between the girl's people and the young man at this stage of the proceedings. This neighbour now cooks a meal for the fasting lover, and informs him at the same time that his suit is acceptable to the family.

After the acceptance of the young man's suit by the girl's parents in the manner described, the youth returns home, and in a few days comes back for his bride, accompanied by all his friends and relatives. He brings with him a great number of blankets and other gifts. These he distributes to the bride's relatives. He and his friends are now entertained for the rest of the day by his prospective father-in-law, and accommodation is afforded them for the night. The following day, after a good meal has been indulged in, all go down to the beach to where the bridegroom's canoe is moored, the parents of the bride taking with them a number of blankets, which they put into the canoe. If the bride is a person of rank, the whole course from the house to the beach is covered with a line of blankets for her to walk upon, and two old women as maids-of-honour lead her down to the canoe. The bride is dressed for the occasion in all the bravery of bright-coloured blankets and what other ornaments she may possess. Over her head completely enveloping her is thrown a blanket as a kind of bridal veil. Behind her come the female slaves of her father's household carrying all her personal belongings, such as mats, baskets, blankets, wooden platters, spoons, etc. The bridesmaids place the bride in the bow of the canoe, after which, etiquette demands that the bride-

groom shall reward them for their services by a gift of one or more blankets each. The parties now separate. Some days later the girl's parents and friends pay a visit to her husband's home, bringing with them blankets and other presents equal in number and value to those bestowed upon themselves. These are distributed to the son-in-law and his friends, after which all partake of a feast, which closes the marriage ceremonies, and thereafter the girl and youth are regarded by all as man and wife.

Sometimes the suitor is not acceptable to the girl's parents, and after a family council has been held he is rejected. A friendly neighbour is called in as before to act as intermediary and convey to him the decision of the parents. If the youth has set his heart on the girl he will now try to induce her to elope with him. If she refuses to do this he has perforce to give her up and seek a wife elsewhere. If, however, she consents, he seizes the first opportunity that offers and carries her off to the woods with him, where they remain together for several days. If the objection to the young man on the part of the girl's parents is not deep-rooted, he is now permitted to keep the girl as his wife on payment to them of a certain number of blankets. If, however, they object even now to have him as a son-in-law they take the girl from him, and it is understood on both sides that he is to trouble her or them no more. This was the custom among the Squamish.

Among the Chahalis, and most of the other of the delta tribes, early betrothals by the parents were quite

common ; and when this was not done it was still the parents who generally made the choice of a husband or wife for their children. Sometimes, however, the young people managed their own affairs.

Among the Lillooet tribes, when a boy had arrived at marriageable age his parents would ask him if he looked with favour upon any girl of their acquaintance. Upon his replying in the affirmative, and learning his choice, they would select one of the eldermen of their kin-group to act as intermediary. It was not etiquette for the youth or his parents themselves to make the first move. This old man would pay a visit to the girl's parents, and diplomatically sound them as to their willingness to accept his young kinsman as their son-in-law. If the girl's people considered the match desirable they would signify their consent, and a day would be fixed for the visit of the bridegroom. The relatives and kinsmen of both parties now made preparations for the ceremony. These consisted chiefly in cooking large quantities of the choicest food. The parents of the youth opened their treasure-chests and set aside such of their contents as was needful for the proper carrying out of the ceremony. The youth himself went into the forest and cut a large armful of the best firewood. This he took home and placed with the wedding gifts to be borne with him when he set out for the marriage ceremony. Everything now being ready, and the day appointed having duly come round, he set out for the home of his father-in-law, accompanied by his kinsfolk and personal friends. The party had been expected, and the dwelling of the

bride's father cleaned and made ready for their reception. The girl's kinsfolk occupied the inner side of the dwelling, the outer was given up to the visitors. The ceremony was opened by an elderman of the groom's party presenting the gifts of the bridegroom to the bride's father. They are placed in a heap upon the floor. He then offers the pile of firewood and says: 'My young man brings you this firewood.' Two eldermen of the bride's family now rise, go over to the bridegroom, take him ceremoniously by the arms, conduct him to their side of the house and seat him next his bride. This constitutes the marriage. A feast is now indulged in, after which the bridegroom is free to depart and take home his bride, or, if he chooses, he may stay a day or two with her family.

When he is ready to depart he leads the way down to his canoe, followed by the bride, who is conducted by some of the elders of her family. These may be of either sex. They place her in the bow of her husband's canoe, he taking the stern. The husband rewards them for their services with a blanket each. The day following, the parents and kinsfolk of the bride set out to pay the return visit to the parents and family of the bridegroom. Upon their arrival they make a distribution of presents which custom demands shall not be less in value than those made to themselves by the bridegroom and his party. A second feast is now prepared and indulged in, which closes the marriage ceremonies, and the visitors return to their home.

These customs were those observed by the chiefs and notables of the tribes. The marriage ceremony among the base folk was less formal.

There are two features of special interest to be observed in the marriage ceremonies of the Lillooet tribes. First the formal offering of firewood by the youth to his prospective father-in-law. This act signified that the younger man was subject to his father-in-law. It placed him in the position of 'younger' man, whether he was actually so or not. The second feature is that which constituted the real act of marriage, the union of the bridegroom with the bride's family by the formal invitation to sit among them.

Among the island Salish, particularly among men of rank, marriage was, and to some extent still is, a very formal family arrangement, and the young people were never permitted to chose their own mates. When a youth has arrived at marriageable age the elders of his family look around them for a suitable bride for him, and his wishes are rarely consulted in the matter.

When the time fixed for the ceremony comes round, the family and friends of the groom's party set off in their canoes for the camp of the bride's father. They are, of course, expected, and as soon as they arrive the latter closes and fastens the entrance to his dwelling, about which large numbers of the villagers are assembled. The father of the bridegroom now calls some half dozen of the more socially prominent of these and requests them to ask to have the door opened that his son may seek his bride. They are encouraged

in their services by gifts of blankets. These men now knock at the entrance and beg the bride's father to open his door to his prospective son-in-law. This for a long time he refuses to do, but when this curious part of the ceremony is over and the door is at length thrown open, these same men go down to the water's edge and lift the canoe, containing the bridegroom and bridal presents, bodily out of the water and carry it and its contents into the house of the bride's father. Here it is set down with the youth in it, and he is now supposed to remain there till his bride is brought and placed beside him. This may not be for two or three days, the higher his social rank, however, the shorter time he is kept waiting.

In the meantime his relatives and friends are entertained outside by the bride's family and friends. When the period of waiting is over, two of the elder-men of the girl's family take her to the youth and place her in the canoe with him, receiving in return the pile of blankets he has brought with him in the canoe. This is now taken up bodily again, with the two young people seated in it, and carried out and placed in the water. The visiting party now return home with the bride. Later on a return visit is paid by the members of her family to the village of her husband's people, where they are entertained for a longer or shorter time, and thus closes the ceremony. These were the customs observed with more or less local variation by a large number of the Island tribes, the most curious and unique feature of which was the closing of the door in the face of the groom's party, the significance of which

seems no longer to be understood by the natives themselves.

Perhaps the most singular and interesting of all the Salish marriage customs are those found among the Thompsons of the interior. Teit has given us some very interesting information on these which we shall reproduce in part here. Among these tribes girls were often betrothed while mere infants to men sometimes twenty years their seniors. They were considered marriageable only after they had finished the ceremonies attendant upon reaching the age of puberty. This was approximately in the seventeenth or eighteenth year, but sometimes the ceremonies were continued until the twenty-third year. Most of the men married from three to seven years after finishing the puberty ceremonials, and it may be said that most of them married between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-five years.

One of the modes of marriage considered the most honourable was that called 'to place down,' probably having reference to the laying-down of presents before the parents or relatives of the girl sought in marriage.

In another form of marriage, equally honourable and probably the commonest, the girl's family took the initiative. The parents of the girl, having singled out some young man who they thought would make a good husband to their daughter, approached him or his parents. If favourably received, they betrothed their daughter to the young man, who was to come for his bride at some future date, the time for their meeting being also arranged. They were then looked

upon as man and wife, both parties being thus bound inviolably.

Another form of marriage was that contracted by a man touching a girl's person. Even if he touched her accidentally, he was compelled to marry her. A man who touched the naked breasts or heel of a maiden transformed her at once into his wife, and there was no withdrawal for either party, so that henceforth they lived together as man and wife. If a young man intentionally touched a young woman with his arrow it was the same as asking her to become his wife. If she hung down her head, it was taken as an assent. The girl told her parents that So-and-So had asked her to marry him, and she wished to do so. Two days afterward the young man repaired to her house, and if the people called him 'son-in-law,' and treated him well, he knew that he was accepted. The man who cut or loosed one string of the lacing which covered a maiden's breast, cut her breech-cloth, or lay down beside her, had to marry her; and she at once became his recognised wife without further ceremony. Sometimes a young man would repair to the house of his sweetheart after every one had gone to bed. He knew where she slept. He would quietly lie down beside her on the edge of her blanket. Sometimes she would give an alarm, and he would have to run out, but often she would ask who he was. If she did not care for him, she told him to leave or struck him; but if she liked him she said no more. He lay this way on top of her blanket, she underneath, neither of them talking, till near daybreak;

then he crept noiselessly away, just whispering to her 'Good-bye.' He would come and do likewise for three nights more. On the fourth and last night she would put her arm and hand outside the blanket. This was a sure sign that he was accepted, therefore he took her hand in his. From that moment they were man and wife. On the next morning the girl would say to her parents, 'So-and-so comes to me. He touched my hand last night.' Then her father would tell the young man's people, while her mother would prepare a small feast. The young man and his parents would repair to the house of the girl's parents, and the young man would henceforth live with his wife. Sometimes, if the girl's parents gave no feast, the lad's parents did; then the girl's father took her to his house, and she lived with her husband and his people. In this, as in all forms of marriage by touching, as a rule no presents were given, nor were the ceremonial visits made.

The custom of marriage by 'touching' has long been out of use; but the other forms of marriage still obtain, although they are not so common as the recently introduced methods of marriage through the chief or by the priest, as among the whites.

Passing now from marriages to deaths, we will first treat of the mortuary customs as found among the Déné.

Among the Loucheux, when a man dies, all his beads which have not been given to the shaman or destroyed by his relatives to show their grief for his loss and the estimation in which they held him, are

either broken up into fragments and these sprinkled about his grave or else buried with the corpse. The mourners destroy theirs in the same way or give them away; their hair is also cut close to the head, being sometimes singed to the scalp. Sometimes they also cut and lacerate their bodies with flints to show their grief, or, as occasionally happens, they will, in a fit of revenge against fate, stab some poor friendless person who may happen to be sojourning among them.

Those who bury the dead receive a quantity of beads in payment for their services—beads among these tribes taking the place which blankets and beaver-skins hold among others. Every one endeavours to shirk this office, being fearful of the noxious influence of corpses, and because they are averse to placing themselves under the taboos and restrictions which the mortuary regulations impose upon those who handle, or have anything to do with, lifeless bodies. Such people are debarred, for instance, from eating any fresh meat for a certain period, which varies in duration from tribe to tribe and with the social status of the deceased, and the age of the person concerned. This rule can only be broken to save life when no other food is available, and even then the flesh must be eaten cold. They must also tear the meat with their teeth, and never use a knife with it. In slaking their thirst they must not drink out of a vessel in common use, but from a gourd which they carry about with them for the purpose. They also wear peeled willow wands round their arms

and necks or carry them in their hands. These are supposed to keep off infection, and protect them from the evil effects which are supposed to follow the handling of corpses.

A certain period after the death and disposal of the body the nearest of kin to the deceased, if he be a man of wealth and standing, holds the customary mortuary feast or 'dead dance,' during which he distributes such of his beads as he has reserved for the occasion. Each of the recipients of the beads receives them with the full understanding that he is to make a return in kind of at least one-half of the amount at the end of the donor's period of mourning to enable him to begin life afresh. For the concluding mortuary feast he lays in a large stock of provisions. He also levels and fences off a piece of ground in which are planted painted cross-poles strung with beads and other ornaments. During this period he also composes the songs to be used at the feast, in which are commemorated all the good qualities of the deceased and his abilities as a hunter, a fighter or wrestler.

When the day of the feast comes round, and all the guests have assembled, painted and otherwise suitably adorned for the occasion, fires are lighted in the enclosure, and a number of persons are told off to cook and prepare the food, while others cut up and prepare tobacco. The rest dance to the songs of the host, while his wives beat in cadence on a piece of painted wood which he holds in his hands. When the food is ready, the singing and dancing stop for a time and all indulge in a good meal, after which tobacco is passed

round and smoked. When the smoking is over the singing and dancing recommence, and are kept up till the people are tired. A change is now effected in the programme by throwing a bladder of grease among the crowd. The first who seizes it runs off with it as fast as he can, pursued by all the rest. When he finds himself hard pressed he tries to secure at least a portion of the bladder for himself, but the task is not easy, as the grease has been mixed with strings of sinew which make it hard to separate; and before he succeeds in breaking off a piece the bladder is snatched from his hands by somebody else, and the chase begins again. Sometimes a half dozen hands clutch at it at once, and a general scrimmage takes place amid a hubbub of shouting and screaming. This kind of fun is kept up for a while, when the grease is shared and eaten, grease or fat of this kind being regarded as a great delicacy among them. These scrambling games are very popular, and when the grease has been divided and eaten, the host will start a fresh one by throwing out a moose- or deer-skin. Whoever is lucky enough to secure it first rushes off with it, followed by all the crowd. Every man who can grasps a portion of it, till there is no longer holding-room. Some person now takes a knife and cuts away between the multitude of hands until the whole has been cut up and each man finds himself possessed only of what he was able to grasp.

These games generally go on for several days accompanied by wrestling, racing, jumping, and pushing on a long pole, with fifty or sixty a side. After this more speeches are delivered, professions of eternal

faith and good-will are made as each party leaves, and the period of mourning thus comes to an end.

Among these tribes the widow or widows of the deceased are obliged by customary law to remain near the body for a year, to look after it and protect it from animals, etc. When it is entirely decayed and nothing but the bones remain, they are burned and the ashes from them collected and secured in a small box, which is hung up on the end of a painted pole. This ceremony over, the widow or widows may marry again. They begin now, for the first time since the breath left the corpse which they have been watching, to dress their hair, put on their beads and other ornaments, and generally to make themselves attractive in view of future husbands. Those who take part in the ceremony of burning the bones are paid handsomely for their services. Four men, as a rule, are engaged for this purpose. These men have to live apart from the rest for two moons after the cremation, because of their contact with the corpse.

In some tribes the corpse was placed in a coffin-box which was supported upon a staging of boughs, and a knife, bow and arrows, a flint fastened to a stick, a stone to strike it on to make fire, a piece of the fungus that grows on the bark of the birch-tree for tinder, and some touchwood were placed with the body. These were for the use of the ghost of the dead man.

Among the Carriers a roof-like shelter of bark covered the corpse, by the side of which the widow would erect for herself and children a small hut of similar form and material. From the moment of her

A Tree Burial

*Photo by* C. W. Mathers, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 196

husband's death till the last course of the ceremonies held in honour of his memory, two to three years later, she was virtually the slave of her brothers-in-law, one of whom would at once cut her hair to the roots, and take care that the operation was renewed whenever needed, as a badge and sign of the abject condition of her widowhood. She was also obliged to wear ragged clothes, and, if she was young and likely to re-marry when her period of mourning was over, she was constrained to besmear her features with pitch and dirt lest her 'guardians' should suspect her of thoughts and desires unbefitting her present condition.

A funeral pyre was built for the cremation feast by men of some other clan than that of the dead man on the outskirts of the village. When the corpse was placed upon this and the flames kindled, custom demanded that the widow should attempt to embrace and throw herself upon it, and though she was not permitted to actually do the latter, she was often seriously burnt; and if the relatives of the dead man had reason to think she had not been a good wife, they would roughly jostle her, and sometimes cause her to badly disfigure herself in the flames as a revenge, and in order that she might have less chance of securing another husband.

The cremation over, a bark hut was built over the spot where the fire had been; after which everybody departed with the exception of the widow, who had to dwell there during the whole mourning period. On the morning following the cremation ceremonies the relatives of the dead person would come back and

carefully search among the ashes for all the charred remains of the body they could find. These they handed to the widow, who had from this time onwards to their final deposition in or on a mortuary column, to 'pack' them about with her wherever she went in a small skin pouch.

In strong contrast to these customs of the more sedentary Déné are those which are found among the hunting tribes, of which we will offer those of the Sikani as an example.

Owing to their need of following the game upon which they mainly subsist, these tribes can never remain long in one place. So when it appeared that death was going to shortly take one of their number, they did not trouble to move the sick man to another camp, but simply placed beside him as much provisions as they could spare, and after erecting a leafy barrier to screen their path from the dying man's gaze, which was considered to be baneful to the party, they would thus leave him to his fate. Should a person die while they were with him, they would lower his hut down upon him and thus cover his remains, and then leave the spot for another camping-ground. If the dead person were a man of consequence in the band and esteemed by them, they would hollow out a kind of coffin from a stout spruce-tree and suspend his remains therein from the branches of some tree. Occasionally they placed the corpse of such a man in a standing position in a hollow tree.

The mortuary customs of the Salish have not much in common with those of the Déné.

Among the Lillooets when a person died, the corpse was handed over to the funerary shaman, who washed and prepared it for burial. This individual was regarded as immune to the 'bad medicine' of dead bodies by reason of his mystery powers. The body was customarily washed all over, the hair combed and tied back, the face painted, and the head sprinkled with the down of bulrushes, which was potent in checking the evil influences attending corpses. The lower limbs of the corpse were then doubled up and the knees brought up to the chin, and the whole body covered and tied up in a blanket. If the corpse was that of a woman it was prepared for interment by a female shaman.

When the corpse was ready for burial, a long pole was run through the binding-cords, the ends were raised on the shoulders of two or more elderly persons, and the body was thus carried to the burial grounds. The friends and relations of the dead person followed the corpse to the grave, the procession being always headed by the shaman-in-charge. When they arrived at the graveyard, a hole was dug in the ground—the Lillooets practising inhumation in the disposal of their dead. The hole or grave was then carefully and ceremoniously brushed out by the presiding shaman with branches of the mystic red-fir. This act constituted a veritable consecration of the grave, and drove off all evil influences. The body was then lowered into the hole and covered up with soil, a large stone being placed at each end of the grave to mark the site.

After the interment of the body, the burial party

returned to the house of the nearest relative of the deceased person, and the women and girls of the household were then instructed to prepare the mortuary feast, and the boys bidden to go and gather firewood. Invitations to the feast were also sent out. In making these, preference was given to widows, widowers, and orphans, or to those who were mourning the loss of some dead relative. When the guests had assembled and the food was ready the men were first fed, being waited upon by the women, who afterwards partook of what the men left. At the close of the feast, the elder of the household opened the family treasure-chests and distributed therefrom blankets and skins to those who had actively assisted in the mortuary ceremonies.

The next four days were spent by the members of the household of the deceased person in fasting, lamenting, and ceremonial ablutions. At daybreak on the fifth morning they all went outside, and had their hair cut by the mortuary shaman. He always cut that on the right side of the head first, the 'right' side being the more honourable in all things in Lillooet opinion. When the ceremony of hair-cutting had been performed, they returned to the house and painted their faces, and oiled and tied up their hair, put on a more cheerful countenance, and, if the family or household were well-to-do, indulged in a second feast.

This cutting of the hair of the surviving relatives of the deceased persons signifies that the family is 'in mourning.' The severed hair among these tribes was always gathered up and tied into a little ball

and taken into the forest and fastened to the branches of a red-fir tree on its eastern side.

Various taboos and prohibitions are, or were, observed in connection with the dead. The name of the dead person must not be uttered. This is not so much out of regard to the feelings of the surviving relatives, as on account of the mystic connection which is supposed to exist between names and their owners. To utter or use the name of a dead person is to affect or disturb his ghost or spirit, and draw it back to its earthly haunts. This is inimical both to the ghost itself, and to the person using the name, and thus attracting the ghostly influence. It is therefore a thing to be avoided, and hence the taboo. Time is necessary to remove this danger, and after a person has been dead a year or more his name can again be used.

Widows, widowers, and orphans had certain restrictions placed upon them in the matter of food. In the case of the widow, she might eat no fresh food for a whole year. The other members of the deceased person's family abstained from fresh food for a period of from four days to as many months. The widow might not sleep on the customary bed or sleeping-mats; she must make a special bed for herself of red-fir branches, and also wear a head-wreath of the same material for a certain period of time. She also wore bands or thongs of buck-skin round her neck, wrists, and ankles. These were put on at the time of the hair-cutting. The object of the former was to prevent coughs and other lung troubles, and of the latter to keep off rheumatism.

In the case of the widower, he likewise abstained from fresh meats for some time. The period of abstention varied somewhat with the age of the person —the younger the man, the longer his abstention. Elderly people might shorten the period considerably, and might eat fresh salmon as soon as the first of the salmon run was over, and the fish had arrived in numbers, when there was no danger of their being driven away, for it was supposed that salmon were peculiarly susceptible to the influence of dead bodies.

A young widower must also be careful to refrain from sexual intercourse for a year, the more particularly if he possessed 'mystery' powers. It was not unusual for a young widower to go apart into the forest by himself for a year after the death of his wife, and purify himself from the death defilement, and seek mystery powers. To effect these objects, he would build himself a sweat-house or hot bath by the side of a stream, and drive the 'bad medicine' of his dead wife out of his body by repeated sweatings or hot baths.

These latter were thus constructed. A circular hole was dug, several feet deep, and from two to three feet in diameter, at the edge of a stream or lake. This would be lined with branches of the mystic red-fir, and while the water from the stream or lake was percolating through the sand and filling the hole the man would be heating stones in a fire close by, and plunging them into the hole to make the water hot. He would then sit in this hot bath up to his neck for a time, after which he would plunge into the cold waters of the stream or lake. Sometimes he would

take a heavy stone in his hand and walk into the water till it rose above his head, and continue thus walking on the bottom of the lake till want of breath forced him to drop the stone and rise to the surface. He would continue these practices day after day, and sometimes by night as well. He would also purge his stomach by enforced vomitings. This he did by thrusting a stick down his gullet.

Young widows had also to undergo continuous ceremonial washings or cleansings. One object of this was to make them long-lived, and another, to render them innocuous to their second husbands. For should a widow marry shortly after the death of her former husband without going through a course of ceremonial cleansing, it was believed that her second or subsequent husband's life would be very short.

Among the Thompsons, immediately after the death of a person the body was placed on a temporary platform outside the house, and covered. At the same time the position of the ladder of the underground house was changed, generally in such a way that the ladder rested on the north side of the entrance hole. The death was at once announced through a messenger to neighbours and friends, who gathered at the house of the deceased, and were guests of his relatives till after the burial, when they returned home. During this time they must not sleep, else their souls would be drawn away by the ghost of the deceased or by his guardian spirit. After the death of a woman, the provisions which she had put up the preceding season were immediately spread before the

people who were asked to partake of them. Whatever was left after this feast was at once burned outside the lodge. Those who had taken part in the feast went outside and made themselves vomit by running slender twigs down their throats. Before, and sometimes after burial, the relatives and friends of the deceased, especially women, gave vent to their grief by improvising a mournful song.

The burial took place generally on the day after the death. Nobody was allowed to eat, drink, or smoke in the open air after sunset (some Indians say after dusk) before the burial, else the ghost would harm them. Formerly the corpse was never washed, no 'medicine' was put on it, and the face was not painted, except in the case of warriors.

If the deceased had many slaves, some of them were either killed at the grave and their bodies thrown in, or they were forced into the bottom of the grave and buried alive. After a sufficient quantity of earth had been covered over them, their master was put in and buried on top of them.

If a woman died, the baskets in which she had carried roots, berries, etc., were hung up near her grave, or in some part of the mountain which she had frequented. A hole was always made in the bottom, or the basket otherwise damaged, before being hung up.

After burial, the deceased was addressed by an elderly person, and asked to take pity on the widow or widower and not to trouble her or him. Some food was often thrown on the ground near the grave to be used by the deceased while visiting his grave, and that

A Coast Salish Mortuary Column, showing the Deceased's Totem

*To face page* 205

he might not visit the house in search of food, thereby causing sickness to the people.

On the burial of a child, its clothes and cradle were hung up near the grave, or, if no tree or bushes were at hand, they were buried in the vicinity of the grave. Sometimes, when a mother died leaving an infant child, the latter was wrapped up in a robe and buried alive along with the mother, in its birch-bark or other cradle. This was done because, they say, the child would die in any event, and it was hard to find any other woman to suckle it.

A small heap of boulders was often placed on top of the grave to mark its site. Over most graves were erected conical huts made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches.

On some graves were wooden figures, almost life size or larger than life size, carved as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman.

Each group of families had its own burial-ground, which was carefully chosen in a conspicuous place, at some distance from the village, because they considered graveyards uncanny places to pass at night. They were not fenced. If a young child were buried close to some old grave, its mother would have no more children. Consequently a young child was always buried some distance away from old graves.

Until a few years ago wealthy Indians opened the grave of a relative a year or two after death, and occasionally in succeeding years. The bones were gathered up each time and put in a new skin-robe

or blanket, after being carefully wiped clean. The people called to witness the gathering up of the bones of a dead person were feasted by the latter's relatives.

If an enemy was killed close to a river the body was thrown into the water; but if within the boundaries of his own country, the body was simply left on the ground. When human bones were found anywhere they were cleaned and buried.

Those who handled the dead body and who dug the grave were isolated for four days. They fasted until the body was buried, after which they were given food apart from the other people. They must not touch the food with their hands, but must put it into their mouths with sharp-pointed sticks. They ate off a small mat and drank out of birch-bark cups which, together with the mat, were thrown away at the end of the four days. The first four mouthfuls of food, as well as of water, had to be spit into the fire. During this period they bathed in a stream, and were forbidden to sleep with their wives. No payments were made to them; but a present, sometimes a buck-skin, was sometimes given to the assembled people 'to wipe away their tears.' The people then cut the skin into small strips and divided it among themselves. If there was a large company, each one's share did not come to more than a single strip.

The lodge in which an adult person died was burned. The winter house, after a death had taken place in it, was purified with water in which tobacco and juniper had been soaked, and fresh fir-boughs were placed on the floor each morning. Pieces of tobacco and juniper

were also placed in various parts of the house. But if two or more deaths occurred in it at the same time, or in immediate succession, then the house was invariably burned. Most of the utensils of a deceased person were also burned, as well as the bed upon which he died. The place where the deceased had lain when dying was not occupied for some time. Then an adult male slept on it four nights in succession. After that it was considered safe for any one to lie there.

The first night after the burial of a person, the people of the house to which the deceased belonged made four miniature figures of deer (two does and two bucks) out of dry grass. These they suspended on small strings to the roof of the winter house, and shot at them with arrows made of sharp-pointed sticks until they fell down. Sometimes the deer would fall down after a few shots, but at other times not until they were full of arrows. They divined by this whether another death would occur soon or not. If one of the figures fell down with the first arrow, it was said another death would occur very shortly. If it was a doe they said a woman would die. If all the figures had several arrows in them before they fell down, the people said another death would not take place for some long time to come.

A string of deer-hoofs with a short line attached was hung across the inside of the winter house. This was to hinder the ghost from entering. During four successive nights an old woman pulled this string frequently to make the hoofs rattle. Branches of juniper were also placed at the door of the house or

were burned in the fire for the same purpose. After a death the people generally moved camp to a distance for some time.

The name of a person recently deceased must not be mentioned. Terms of affinity undergo a change after the death of husband or wife.

Widows or widowers, on the death of their husbands or wives, went out at once and passed through a patch of rose bushes four times. They also had to wander about, either during the hours of the evening or at daybreak, for four days after the death of the deceased, wiping their eyes with fir-twigs which they hung up in the branches of trees, praying to the dawn. They also rubbed four times across their eyes a small smooth stone, taken from beneath running water, and then threw it away, praying that they might not become blind. The first four days they could not touch their food with their hands, but must eat it with sharp-pointed sticks, and spit out the first four mouthfuls of each meal and the first four mouthfuls of water into the fire. Immediately on the death of husband or wife, they donned a narrow head-band made of the bark of *Elæagnus argentea*. Nowadays a narrow white handkerchief is used instead of this.

For a year they had to sleep on a bed made of fir-branches on which rosebush-sticks were also spread at the foot, head, and middle. Branches of bear-berry, mountain-ash, juniper, sage, etc., were also placed in the middle of the bed. They slept with head toward the north, never toward the west. Some widowers slept with head toward the south. Many wore a few

small twigs of rosebush and juniper in a piece of buck-skin on their persons. They did not paint their faces.

They had to wash themselves in the creeks and clean themselves with fresh fir-twigs, morning and evening, for a year. The twigs were laid side by side, with their butt-ends towards the east. If they failed to perform these ceremonies they would be visited with sore throat, loss of voice, or loss of sight.

They were also forbidden to eat venison or flesh of any kind, fresh fish, moss-cakes, sunflower-root, wild cherries, service-berries, and bear-berries for one year. Some would eat fresh salmon, if a day or more had passed since it had been caught. They abstained from smoking for half a year. A widower must not fish at another man's fishing-place or with another man's net. If he did, it would make the station and the net useless for the season.

If a widower transplanted a trout into another lake, before releasing it he blew on the head of the fish, and, after having chewed deer fat, he spat some of the grease out on its head so as to remove the baneful effect of his touch. Then he let it go, bidding it farewell and asking it to propagate and become plentiful.

Any grass or branches that a widow or widower sat or lay down on withered up. If a widow should break sticks or branches her hands or arms would also break. She must not pick berries for a year, else the whole crop of berries would fall off the bushes, or would wither up. She must not cook food or fetch water for her children, nor let them lie down on her bed, nor

should she lie or sit where they slept. Some widows wore a breech-cloth made of dry bunch-grass for several days, that the ghost of the husband should not have connection with her.

A widower must not fish or hunt, because it was unlucky both for himself and the other hunters. When on horseback he generally tied a small piece of fir-branch to the horse's mane or to the horn of the saddle. He did not allow his shadow to pass in front of another widower, or of a person who was supposed to be gifted with more knowledge or magic than ordinary. If a widow or widower blows downward on the tips of their fingers, he or she will grow thin. When they wish to grow stout, they place their finger-tips in front of the mouth and draw in their breath. If they blow on various parts of the body while bathing, they will grow stout.

An orphan, widow, or widower ought to eat only few but hearty meals. If they should eat little at a time, and often, they would always be hungry. On the fourth day after the death had occurred the widow or widower cut the hair short, or square across the neck. The detached hair was tied up in a knot, attached to a stone and thrown into the river. The same day the widower, and often the widow, tied buck-skin thongs around the right ankle, knee and wrist, and round the neck. Sometimes pieces of rosebush-wood were attached to them. They also wore twigs of fir in their belts or in the bosoms of their shirts. When mourning a father, buck-skin thongs were worn on the ankles and knees of both legs and also round

A Salish Graveyard, Vancouver Island

*To face page 211*

the neck. These thongs were cut off at the end of a year, unless they had fallen off sooner. A widower should not marry until they have fallen off.

The accompanying illustrations show the characteristic method of disposing of the remains of the dead among the island Salish. These tomb-sepulchres, with their grim totem sentinels, differ from the family coffin-boxes of the upper delta, some of which, it will be recalled, attracted the attention of Simon Fraser as he passed down the river.

Among the lower delta tribes tree-burial was the commonest mode of putting away the corpse. These unsightly objects caught the eye of the early settlers everywhere in earlier days, but now they are no longer to be seen. All the tribes now bury by inhumation in proper burial-grounds.

## CHAPTER XI

### FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS

In treating of the folk-tales and myths of the tribes we are considering, we can here offer only a few examples. These have been drawn from various centres, with a view to illustrate the general ideas and conceptions of the natives and to interest the reader at the same time. We need not comment upon them, as they speak for themselves.

### MYTH OF SKAUKW AND KWAIETEK; OR, THE ORIGIN OF DAYLIGHT

Very long ago in the ancient days it was always dark, the daylight being then shut up in a box and carefully stowed away in the dwelling of Kwaietek, the Sea-gull, who alone possessed it. This condition of things had gone on for a long time when Skaukw, the Raven, determined to make his brother, Kwaietek, share his precious treasure with the rest of the world. So one day he made some torches, and, lighting some, went down to the beach and sought, when the tide was out, for *Skwatsai* (sea-urchin's eggs). Having found as many as he required, he took them home, and, after eating the contents, placed the empty shells with their spines still attached to them on a platter.

Stealthily taking these to Kwaietek's house, he spread them over his doorstep, so that he could not come out without treading upon them and running the spines into his feet. Next morning when Sea-gull came out of his dwelling, he trod upon the shells and ran several of the sharp spines into his naked feet, which made them so sore that he was obliged to keep indoors and nurse them. Later on in the day Raven came along ostensibly to pay a friendly visit, but really to see how far his stratagem for procuring the *Skwail* or daylight had been successful. He found Sea-gull laid up, unable to walk. 'What is the matter, Brother Kwaietek?' said Raven.—'Oh,' responded he, 'I think some of your children must have been playing on my doorstep last night and left some sea-eggs there; for this morning, as I was leaving the house, I trod upon some, and the spines must have pierced my feet, and now they are so sore and swollen in consequence that I cannot put them to the ground without pain.'—'Let me look at them,' said Skaukw; 'perhaps I can find the spines and take them out for you.' So saying, he took hold of one of his brother's feet and pretended to take out the sea-urchin's spines with his stone knife. He dug the instrument in so roughly and gave Sea-gull so much pain, that the latter cried out in his agony. 'Am I hurting you?' questioned Raven. 'It is so dark I cannot properly see what I am doing. Open your *Skwail*-box a little and I shall be able to see better.' Sea-gull did as the other suggested, and slightly opened the lid of the box in which he kept the Daylight. Skaukw continued, however, to hack

away at his foot under pretence of taking the spines out, and presently Sea-gull cried out again. 'It is your own fault if I hurt you,' said Raven. 'Why don't you give me more light? Here, let me have the box.' His brother gave him the box, cautioning him the while to be careful and not open the lid too wide. 'All right,' said Raven; and he opened the lid about half-way. Then he made as if to continue his operation on Kwaietek's foot, but as soon as he turned round he swiftly threw the lid of the box wide open, and all the Daylight rushed out at once and spread itself all over the world, and could never be gathered in again. When Kwaietek perceived what Skaukw had done, and that his precious *Skwail* was gone from him, he was greatly distressed, and cried and wept bitterly, and would not be comforted.

Thus it is that the sea-gulls to this day never cease to utter their plaintive cry of K'n-ni - - - ni—K'n-ni - - - i.

### MYTH OF THE MAN WHO BROUGHT HIS WIFE FROM THE LAND OF THE DEPARTED

Once a man married a woman whom he deeply loved. They had lived together about a year when the woman became ill, and shortly afterwards died. When he had put her corpse away, he went a long way off into the mountains to seek supernatural powers. He bathed regularly every day through four summers and four winters. When he had thus done he attained what he sought. He could easily see the shades of the departed, and even follow the trails they made. He sought and

found the trail his wife's ghost had made on her way to the Land of the Departed.

He followed it day after day for many days. At last he came to a settlement where there was a long-house. Presently going in he saw the chief sitting there alone. He called out and asked him what he wanted, and what he was doing in the Land of the Departed. 'You are not a dead person, only the dead live here; why have you come?'

The young man replied, 'I am seeking for my deceased wife. I love her greatly, and she left me too soon; I want to live with her again.' The chief felt sorry for him and promised to help him, if he would do as he told him. The young man thanked him, and promised to comply with all his wishes. Then the chief took him and washed him with a certain mystic 'medicine,' and then instructed him on this wise: 'You must now hide yourself, and if you see your wife, when my people come home, you must be very careful not to let her see you, or attempt to grasp or touch her. If you do, everybody will immediately disappear, and your wife will dissolve in your arms.' The youth promised not to let the dead people see him and not to touch his wife. As it was now dusk, and the chief was momentarily expecting his people to come home, he bade him hide himself. This the youth did, and presently saw a great concourse of people approaching. When the first one entered the house, he began to sniff, and said, 'I smell a living person.'—'Nonsense,' said the chief, 'that's impossible; only the dead can come here.' This satisfied the spirits, and they all

entered the building. Now, all round the sides thereof were planted swing-poles for hanging cradles upon, and as soon as the people were come in, the women hung up on these poles the cradles they were carrying.

They now began to dance, and after they had kept this up for some time, they marched in single file round the house four times. The youth saw his wife in the line as they marched past the spot where he was hiding, and with great difficulty restrained his desire to spring forth and take her in his arms. Next morning at sunrise the spirit-people all disappeared.

When they were gone, the chief spent the day in washing and cleansing his visitor with strong 'medicine.' When the second night fell he hid the young man again, and warned him not to be seen of the spirits or to touch his wife. Presently the spirit-people arrived, and, as on the night before, they began to sniff as they enter the house, and some cry out that they smell a living person. The chief again tells them they are mistaken, that no living person could possibly be there. Then they all enter, and the cradles are hung up, and the dancing begins. When this is done, they march as before in single file all round the building. Again the young man with difficulty restrained himself from springing out upon his wife, so strong was his desire to hold her in his arms; but remembering his promise to the chief, and the consequences that would follow his action, he kept himself hidden. Next day the chief washed the youth again in his medicine, and when the spirits returned that evening they entered without

hesitation or remark. When they were marching round the house that night, the desire to take his wife in his arms was too strong for the young man to resist, and as she passed by him, he sprang out and caught her. No sooner had he done so than she and all the other people disappeared, babies and cradles and all; and he was left grasping nothing but the empty air. The chief chid him for his lack of self-restraint, and told him he should have waited one night longer. Next day he washed him in the medicine again, and in the evening the spirit-people returned and entered the house as usual. Again they danced and marched round. When they had just completed the fourth round, the young man, acting on the advice of the chief, sprang out and seized his wife, and this time she remained in his arms, nor did any of the other spirit-people disappear. The chief immediately threw some of his medicine upon the man and his wife, and this enabled them to remain together. Next day the wife stayed behind with her husband when the others went out. During the day the chief spoke on this wise to the man: 'To-morrow your wife will be strong enough to begin the journey back to the living world with you, but if you wish to get home again with her, you must be careful to follow my instructions. You must on no account seek to enjoy your marital rights, you must not even lie near her. Camp early each day, and light a big fire before sunset, and keep it burning well all through the night; and you sleep on one side of it and let her sleep on the other.'

Next day he sent them away, and gave them a great

quantity of provisions for their journey, and many blankets and skins, and two horses to carry them.

Towards evening the man pitched his camp, laid in a large quantity of wood, and lit a big fire; and after they had eaten, they laid down to sleep through the night on opposite sides of the fire as the chief had advised.

Next morning they found their provisions and other gifts had been doubled in the night, and they now had four horses, and twice their former quantity of everything else. This they packed on the spare horses and set off again. For many days they thus travelled, each night making a big fire and lying on opposite sides of it. As each new day broke, they found two additional horses among the others, and new possessions enough to make them big packs. After a long time had elapsed, and they had come far, they neared their home, and camped one day's journey out on a wide stretch of prairie-land. By this time their horses had multiplied sufficiently to nearly fill the whole prairie, and all were well laden with stores of food and skins and blankets. The people of the village, on perceiving next morning this great company of horses, sent two young men out to see what it meant, and to learn who was coming. When they came up with the man and his wife, they ask who he is, and where he is going. He tells them he is the man who formerly lost his wife, and went to seek her in the land of the dead. They hurry back and tell the chief who he is.

He asks, 'Has he got his wife with him?'—'Oh yes,' they reply; 'we saw her with him.' By the time they

reached the village, a similar period to that which he had spent in looking for his wife had elapsed, and she was now grown strong again, and accustomed to the contact of living people, so there was no longer any need to keep apart, and thereafter he lived with her as before her death. He was now a wealthy man, and gave many feasts.

Not long after his return, a second man lost his wife. After he had put the corpse away, he came to the first man, and asked him how he had recovered his wife. He related the whole circumstance, keeping nothing back; whereupon the other determined to set out and train for supernatural powers in like manner. He did so, and at the end of the fourth year, set off on his deceased wife's spirit-trail. In course of time he arrived at the village of the ghosts, and was treated by the chief as the other had been. On the fifth day his wife being restored to him, he set off homewards with her, and duly followed the chief's instructions until he reached his last camping-place on the prairie just outside the village. As with the other man, so it had been with him; his horses and his provisions and other belongings had multiplied on the journey, and he, too, now possessed great wealth. But on this last night he failed to observe the instructions that had been given him. His love for his wife was too strong for him. When he awoke next morning he found himself lying all alone on the bare ground, with no sign of wife or horses, or other possessions to be seen anywhere. Thus did he suffer for his lack of self-restraint.

STORY OF SNIKIAP THE COYOTE, QAINON THE MAGPIE, TZALAS THE DIVER, AND SPATCH THE BLACK BEAR, OR THE IMPOSTOR PUNISHED.

Once upon a time Snikiap, Qainon, Tzalas, and Spatch lived in the same locality, each in his own keekwilee-house. Snikiap being one day without any food in his house, bethought him that it would be a good time to pay a neighbourly visit to the house of Qainon. On reaching Qainon's keekwilee-house he looked down the smoke-hole and accosted him. Qainon replied in friendly fashion, and bade his visitor come in. Snikiap clambered down. Said he, as he took a seat near the fire: 'I was feeling very lonesome this morning, and thought I should like to come over and have a friendly chat with you.' 'I am truly delighted to see you,' responded Qainon; 'I am always glad to see a friend drop in for a chat.' Snikiap now began to look about him, and perceived that the house was well stocked with lots of dried deer-flesh. Presently, after they had chatted a while, Qainon said, 'You must have some dinner before you go away.' Looking towards his stores of dried meat, he said, 'I can't offer you this dried stuff; I should like you to have some fresh meat. Just stay a moment, and let me run out to my deer-trap and see if there is anything in it. I ought to find a deer there.' And with that Qainon hastened to go to the trap. Snikiap, as soon as he had gone out, climbed up the notched pole and observed with much curiosity and interest Qainon go towards his deer-trap, which was not far

from his house. He saw him pause there a moment to inspect the trap which held no deer, and then pass on to the woods beyond. Presently a big buck sprang up in Qainon's path. The deer took no notice of Qainon, who now began to revile it in insulting language. At first the buck paid no attention to the remarks of Qainon, but presently the language became so bad that he grew angry and ran at Qainon to punish him. This was just what Qainon wanted, and as the angry deer approached him he turned and ran towards the snare, keeping just a few feet in front of his pursuer. When he was close to the trap he opened his wings and shot through the opening in a twinkling. The deer not perceiving the snare, blindly followed, and was caught by the noose, and thus fell a victim to Qainon's cunning. Qainon now took his knife and cut the deer's throat to bleed him. He then quickly skinned it, cut off a large piece of the meat, and returned to the house with it. 'Ah,' said Snikiap, when Qainon came near, 'I see you hunt your game just as I do. I always catch my deer that way.' Qainon was surprised to hear Snikiap say this, being under the impression that he himself was the only person who hunted deer in that way. He said nothing, however, but hastened to cook some of the venison. When the food was ready Snikiap ate very heartily, being very hungry, but could not eat all that had been prepared. Wishing very much to take some home with him, he said to Qainon, 'I think I will borrow your mat and take home some of this cooked meat for my supper; it will save me cooking to-night.'

The other was quite willing, and readily loaned him the mat. Snikiap wrapped up all that was left from their meal, and now took his departure, saying as he went, 'You must come and pay me a visit soon, and then you can get the mat. I like to have a visit from my friends.' The day following Qainon thought he would return Snikiap's visit. Approaching his house, he shouted down the smoke-hole, 'Good-day friend; I have taken you at your word, and am come to have a chat with you.' 'Oh come in, dear friend,' said unctuous Snikiap, 'I am truly delighted to see you.' But even as he spoke he felt in his heart that he would much rather his visitor had remained at home; and he wondered what he should do for a dinner, having nothing in the house. However, he put on an air of welcome and entertained his visitor till dinner-time came. Said he then to Qainon, 'It is time I was looking after the dinner, you must stay and eat some with me.' To this Qainon agreed rather more readily than Snikiap desired. 'I must get you some fresh meat,' he continued, 'I will run out and see if there is a deer in my trap.' Snikiap now went out and looked at his deer-trap, which he had constructed after the plan of Qainon's. There was nothing in it. He had not really expected to find anything, but he knew Qainon was observing him, so he followed the course he had seen Qainon take. He now went into the wood, and presently to his surprise, came upon a fine buck. The buck looked scornfully at him for a moment, but otherwise took no notice of him. Snikiap, remembering what Qainon

had done, began to call the buck ill names. For some time the buck ignored his presence, but presently his language became too bad, and the deer ran at him with antlers down to punish him. Snikiap, turned tail, and ran as fast as his legs could carry him in the direction of the trap, with the buck close behind him. When he got close to the trap he made a leap to go through, as he had seen Qainon do, but he failed in his attempt, and stuck fast in the middle, being unable to get through or go back. The infuriated buck now took his revenge, and prodded poor Snikiap with his sharp antlers in the rear. Snikiap howled with agony, and called upon Qainon to relieve and help him. Qainon now came forward, killed the deer, and relieved Snikiap from the snare. 'You should not hunt in this way,' said he to poor crestfallen Snikiap; 'you do not understand the trick. I would advise you to stick to your own mode of hunting and not copy anybody else's.' Qainon now cooked some of the deer for them and after the meal was over bade his friend good-bye and returned to his own house. It took Snikiap some time to recover from the wounds inflicted upon him by the angry deer; but by the time he had consumed the remains of the deer's carcase he was able to get about again. Having met with no luck in his hunting, and being very hungry, he said to himself one day, 'I think I will go and see Tzalas to-day; may be I can get a dinner from him.' He set off on his visit, and presently came to Tzalas's house. 'Good day, neighbour Tzalas; how are you feeling to-day?' said he as he looked

down the smoke-hole. 'Is that you, friend Snikiap,' said Tzalas very cordially. 'Come down and have a chat.' Snikiap descended. Says he, 'I was feeling lonely this morning, and thought I would come over and see how you are getting along, and have a friendly chat with you.' 'I am glad you came,' amiably responded Tzalas, and they chatted away together till dinner-time. Tzalas now said, 'You must have some dinner before you go, but I can't let you eat the dried fish'; and he pointed to the stores of dried fish that hung in abundance from the rafters of his house. 'I'll just run out for a minute and see if I can find some fresh fish in my traps.' This remark is in accordance with the rules of Indian hospitality which demands that a guest should be given the best food procurable. Tzalas, thus saying, went down to the river, which was at that time covered with a thick sheet of ice. Every here and there, however, small openings appeared in the ice.

Pausing for a moment, on the bank of the river, over one of these Tzalas took a deep breath, dived downwards and shot through the hole. He reappeared in a short time with a long string of fish. Snikiap had observed the action, and as Tzalas returned remarked, 'I see you catch your fish as I do. I always dive for them that way myself.' 'Oh, indeed,' said Tzalas the diver; 'I was not aware of that. I thought I was the only one who fished in that way.' Tzalas said no more, but speedily prepared the fish. Snikiap ate very heartily, but some of the fish were left over. These he coveted for himself. Said he presently, 'If you will

lend me the mat, I think I will take a bit of this fish home for my supper with me ; it will save me cooking to-night.' Tzalas made no objection, and Snikiap bundled up the whole in the mat, and then bade his friend good-bye. 'You must come and see me shortly,' said he as he left ; 'I like my friends to pay me a visit sometimes.' Tzalas promised to make an early call. Next day Tzalas determined to redeem his promise and pay Snikiap a visit and bring home his mat. When he arrived at Snikiap's house Snikiap was a little surprised to see him appear so soon, and was not too well pleased, but he made pretence to be overjoyed at his visit and did his best to entertain his visitor till dinner-time came. Seeing that Tzalas was intending to stay to dinner he thought he must do something to prepare it. So he presently observed, 'You will stay and have some dinner with me. I was just going down to the river to look at my traps when you came. I 'll just run down and see what is in them.' So saying he ran down to the water's edge. Tzalas watched him go, and looked on with some curiosity. When Snikiap got to the river he stood a moment on the bank, as he had seen Tzalas the diver do, then took a deep breath and plunged head-foremost into the nearest vent-hole. But he had miscalculated once more, the hole was not big enough to let his body through. The force of his plunge had carried his head and shoulders through, but then he had stuck fast and could now neither get up nor down. He was in serious danger of drowning, and wriggled and twisted his body frantically to free himself. Had not Tzalas been looking on and

seen the plight into which he had got himself and hastened down and released him, he would assuredly have been drowned. When the good-natured diver had got him out of the hole and had bound up the cuts he had received in his struggles, he expostulated with him for attempting to copy him in his methods of fishing. 'It's all very well for me to dive down through the ice, it's my trade; but you should not attempt any such thing. You will surely get into trouble some day if you interfere with other people's business.' So saying he plunged into the river and presently returned with a string of fine fish. These he then cooked, and together they made a hearty meal. After dinner he took his mat and returned to his own house. The fish that were left over lasted Snikiap for some little time, after which he bethought him he would pay Spatch the Bear a visit. Reaching Spatch's house, he accosted him as he had the others, and was invited in by the Bear, who presently, when dinner-time came, brought out some berries in a dish and put them down before the fire. He then washed his fore-paws, sat down close to the fire and held them over the dish close to the flame. In a little while the Bear's claws began to drip with liquid fat which he caught in the dish containing the berries. When he had thus secured what he thought a sufficient quantity of fat he set the dish between himself and Snikiap, and together they made a hearty meal. They did not eat it all, however, and Snikiap said he would take what was left home with him if Spatch would lend him the dish. To this the Bear agreed, and also promised to

pay Snikiap a visit at his house very shortly. Now, while Spatch had been drawing the fat from his paws, Snikiap looked on for a moment and then remarked that he was in the habit of getting his grease in the same way. Spatch looked as if he did not believe him, but said nothing. Snikiap presently took his leave, carrying the remains of their dinner home with him in the Bear's dish. The very next day Spatch took it into his head to return Snikiap's visit and get back his dish. So just before dinner-time he dropped in on Snikiap. The latter made a great show of welcoming him, and presently, when dinner-time came, got up to get the dinner. Having no berries, he put the empty dish before the fire as he had seen Spatch do, then washed his paws, and seating himself before the fire, held them towards the flames. In a very little while the heat began to try him, and his paws began to smart; but he would not let Spatch see it, and continued to hold them before the fire. Presently the pain made him groan and writhe. 'What is the matter?' said Spatch, who had been observing him closely. Snikiap answered, 'The grease does not run freely this morning and I feel the heat a little.' 'You do not put them close enough to the fire,' replied Spatch. Snikiap put his paws still closer to the fire, and kept them there till the pain made him howl with agony. Spatch in the meantime smiled grimly, and when Snikiap would have given up, he grasped his paws in his own and held them before the fire till poor Snikiap's flesh was burnt and his muscles drawn and twisted by the great heat, saying as he did so,

'Let me hold your paws for you, dear friend.' When he thought Snikiap had been sufficiently punished for his humbugging and insincerity he let him go, and picking up his dish went off home, leaving Snikiap in a sad and disabled condition. It was some time before his paws healed up, and even then they were not as before. The sinews and muscles had been so severely scorched that they remained contracted, and he could never again stretch out his paws as before.

Thus was Snikiap the imposter punished by Spatch, and thus it is that the Coyote's paws are contracted and bent to this very day.

### MYTH OF THE ELK-MAIDEN

In the remote days of long ago, when the animals spoke and behaved like human beings, there lived in the far north an elk man and his wife. They possessed an only daughter, and the one grief of their lives was that no husband could be found for her. The daughter who had no wish to remain single all her days, grew dissatisfied with her lot, and determined to leave home and seek an old aunt, sister of her father's, who lived somewhere in the far south. She accordingly set out and travelled by herself for many weeks and moons. She had not, however, gone far before her aunt, who was a very wise woman, learnt in a dream that her niece was on her way to seek her.

Now in the old elk-aunt's village, of which she was chieftainess, and which consisted of many keekwilee-houses or semi-subterranean winter dwellings, there

were no women or females of any kind. The whole community, except herself, was composed of males. Being a wise old woman, she foresaw that, as soon as her niece should arrive, she would be pestered to death by suitors for the maiden's hand, and that trouble and discord would arise upon her appearance among them.

She therefore set her wits to work to devise some plan by which she might keep her niece to herself, and prevent discord and jealousies from disturbing the peace and harmony of the village. And this is the way she did it. She straightway sent for young Night-hawk, because he had a strong voice, and bade him make known to all his companions that if they desired to win a beautiful young elk-maiden for wife, they should come to her on a certain day. Night-hawk soon made the news known to his companions. His tidings caused much commotion in the village, and not a youth was missing on the appointed day. When all were assembled the old aunt told them briefly that her niece was about to pay her a visit, and as she was unmarried would probably desire to have a husband, and settle down with her. 'Among so many desirable youths,' said she, 'I find it difficult to select one whose claims are greater than the rest. In order, therefore, that each one of you may have a chance to obtain the maiden, I have decided to let you race for her. You shall all be placed at one end of the village and she at the other. At the word "go" you shall start after her, and whoever first catches her shall have her for wife.'

This plan was not equally pleasing to all. Young

Deer and the other fleet-footed youths thought the idea an excellent one, each believing that he could easily snatch the prize from his fellows; but Tortoise thought it was hardly fair to him and his friends who were not gifted with long and nimble legs. His objection, however, was overruled, and he and his friends pacified by a promise of a good start in advance of the rest. All unconscious of the excitement the news of her expected arrival had caused in her aunt's village, the maiden had gradually neared her destination, and was now but a few miles distant. The old aunt had followed her course day by day in her dreams, and knew exactly where she was and when she would appear. So when she was but a little way off, she went forth to meet and bring her in. She said nothing to the others as she went, hoping that she might pass out and in unobserved. But they had seen her stealing off, and when she returned a little while later with her niece, every youth in the place was on the look-out for them. The maiden was wholly unprepared to pass the gauntlet of eyes that now met her, and was much embarrassed by the presence of so many males, and by the ardent glances they cast upon her. After one hurried look round, she bent her eyes to the ground and did not raise them till she was within her aunt's keekwilee-house. The excitement in the village now became intense, and the old chieftainess saw that if she wished to prevent trouble and discord, she must have the contest for her niece's hand settled without unnecessary delay. She accordingly fixed a near day,

and bade all be in readiness. On the day appointed every youth in the village presented himself at the aunt's dwelling. The old chieftainess then arranged them for the contest, placing all the slow-footed competitors in the foremost rank, with Tortoise in front of all, and Deer and his comrades in the rear. She then led forth her niece, clad in a beautiful doe-skin dress, embroidered from top to bottom with many coloured beads and shells, and painted with numerous mystic symbols. A buzz of admiration greeted her as her aunt led her to the far end of the camp and instructed her to make straight for the house again as soon as the word was given to start. The aunt then went back to the others, and bidding them be ready, gave the word to start. Such a rushing and striving as then followed was never seen in the village before, as each youth strove to out-do the others. At the command to go, all had seen the maiden disappear behind the farthest keekwilee-house, and each endeavoured to be at the turn first. But no sooner had the old woman given the word to start than she exercised her magic powers, and caused the sky to become quickly overcast with thick dark clouds, which effectually shut out the light of day and enveloped the runners in its bewildering folds, so that none could discern his fellow or see whither he went. One ran into another and eagerly clasped him, thinking he had secured the prize; but finding his mistake, let go his hold and started afresh, only to find himself repeating the same mistake again and again. 'I have her!' I have her!' cried a dozen voices at once.

'No, she's mine! She's mine!' shouted young Raven, as he grasped the bark of a cedar-tree which was hanging loose and fluttering in the wind and tore it off in his excitement, thinking he had caught the maiden by her dress, which had given way in his hand. 'She is mine! I have her!' he repeated again as he grasped the tree in his arms. But before he could realise his mistake he was dragged back from the tree by a dozen hands, and had to take up the hunt again. And thus they strove in vain to find the maiden, until they had torn the clothes from each other's backs, and the light of day had returned once more. 'Who's got her? Where is she?' was now the cry all round; and to the astonishment of all, no one seemed to have secured the prize. She had escaped them all, and moreover, was now nowhere to be seen. While all these frantic struggles in the dark had been going on, the old aunt had run round the other way and led back her niece into the house again, and taking off her beautiful dress had straightway hidden her in a large basket fashioned like a cradle which she had prepared for the purpose. This she placed on a shelf just under the roof, where no one would be likely to investigate and discover its contents. Every one now wondered what could have become of the maiden, but none save crafty, keen-eyed Lynx suspected that a trick had been played upon them by their chieftainess. It was commonly supposed that the sun, observing the beautiful maiden as she ran, had become enamoured of her, and had left his abode in the heavens and come down and seized and carried

her off. 'How else,' argued they, 'could you account for the sudden darkness of midnight at noonday?' But Lynx thought otherwise, though he said nothing. He, like the others, had entered the race, but, finding himself outstripped at the commencement, gave up the contest, and kept his keen eyes upon the chieftainess. He thought he had seen her run round the other side of the house and return again with her niece, but was not quite sure, as the darkness had baffled even his keen sight. Nevertheless he inclined to the belief that the maiden had returned to her aunt's dwelling, and even now lay concealed there, and he determined to satisfy himself on this point before long. For several days and nights, therefore, he hung round the old woman's keekwilee-house, making all sorts of excuses to pay her sudden and unexpected visits. At one time he would take her a fine salmon, at another some rare roots, and at another a haunch of venison; but enter as often and as suddenly as he would, no trace of the maiden could he see. Having failed in this plan he had resort to another.

On each occasion that he had visited the old aunt's house since the girl's disappearance, he had noticed the large cradle-basket on the shelf. He could not remember to have seen it before, and from its appearance it was plain that it was not an old cradle; so he could not help connecting its presence with the disappearance of the maiden. He vowed he would learn by some means the contents of that basket before long; but as there was no chance of doing this openly, he must find some other way. So

accordingly one night, when the whole village was asleep, he stole to the roof of the old woman's house and began sniffing over the spot where he knew the cradle lay, and having a keen nose soon assured himself that the maiden lay there asleep. Having satisfied himself on this score he now carefully and quietly removed a little of the bark-covering from the roof, thus making a small hole therein large enough to peep through and see the maiden sleeping soundly beneath him. Enlarging the hole a little he thrust in his paw, and gently removing the blanket from her breast spat three times upon her. He then replaced the blanket, restored the hole as before, and slunk home to his own quarters. For three successive nights he repeated this action, after which he returned no more, but went about his business as usual and awaited results. In the meantime life had not gone very merrily with the maiden. Pent up in her narrow quarters she grew wearier each day as the weeks went by, and begged her aunt again and again to allow her to come out of her basket. But this the old chieftainess would not do. But as time went on the maiden presently discovered herself to be in a peculiar and distressing condition. It seemed as if she would shortly become a mother. When the first consciousness of her condition dawned upon her she would not believe it, but as the days went by she could no longer entertain any doubt of it. She hid the matter from her relative until it was no longer possible to do so, and then the aunt was angry indeed, and bitterly reproached her niece for the disgrace she

was bringing upon her, and would not at first believe that the girl herself was innocent in the matter. But having presently convinced herself of this, she set her wits to work to discover who it was that had outwitted her in this way. But though exceedingly wise and versed in much magic, she yet could not discover directly who the offender was, but was obliged to get her information in a roundabout way. But now the maiden's full time had come, and she was delivered of a male child, who grew in an incredibly short space of time into a strong and vigorous boy. The old chieftainess having thought out her plan of action, now sent once more for her public crier, young Nighthawk, and bade him inform the village of the birth of a child to her niece, and tell his companions that they were all to present themselves at her house on a certain day, and bring each of them a present for the child.

This they all did, with the exception of two, each burning with curiosity to learn when the maiden had returned, and who had secured her for wife. The bidding of the tribe to her house was part of the old aunt's plan for discovering the father of her grandnephew. By her magic powers she had learnt that if each visitor presented the child with a gift, he would accept and retain one only, viz. the present offered by his own father, and would reject with disdain those of all the others. Thus she would be able to discover the perpetrator of the deed. On the day appointed each brought his present. As they descended they offered their presents one by one to

the child, who took them, only to throw them aside again the next moment. This happened until all the presents had been made, and all the visitors had assembled. As the child had shown no interest in anything that had yet been offered him, the old woman knew from this that some one must be absent. She therefore angrily demanded who had disobeyed her injunctions; and after some little delay and calling of names it was ascertained that Young Rabbit and his brother Lynx were absent. A messenger was immediately dispatched for them, and in a few minutes they arrived, Rabbit descending first. As Rabbit clambered down the notched pole that served for a ladder, the child now for the first time evinced some interest in what was going on, and looked up and smiled at Rabbit, and held out his hand for the present. For a moment he seemed inclined to play with it, but threw it aside at once when he perceived Lynx descending.

As the latter approached, he crowed and laughed, and clapped his hands with delight, eagerly stretching them out for Lynx's present, which he retained, and immediately began to play with. The old chieftainess knew from this that the child's father stood before her. She now related to the assembled guests all that had taken place.

Pointing to Lynx, who hung his head in silence, she exclaimed, 'What shall be done to a creature guilty of such meanness? Death is too good for such a one. I tell you what shall be done to him. . . . He sought to rob me of my niece; now that he has disgraced her

he shall have her whether he will or no; but he shall possess her in loneliness, he shall not live with us. I have been thinking of changing camp for some time past; we will do so now, and leave him and the girl and child behind to look after themselves as best they may.' As they left the house, every one of them, even Lynx's own brother, Rabbit, gave him a kick or a cuff, so that by the time all had gone, poor Lynx was a mass of bruises and sores. When all had at length left, the girl, who had been watching the whole proceeding in shame and anger, now came forward and washed and tied up poor Lynx's battered head, mildly reproaching him the while for the trouble and disgrace he had brought upon them. Meanwhile the others were busy preparing for the departure across the water, which divided their present encampment from the country beyond. There were many among them who, while they felt no pity or compassion for Lynx, were yet sorry for the girl; and in packing up their food stores, purposely left some scraps behind for her in their food-cellars. In a short time they were ready to start, and the old chieftainess giving the word, they paddled away, leaving the pair behind them. The old aunt left very little of her store of food behind her, so that in a few days the forsaken couple found their larder empty. Then it was that Lynx remembered that there were other food-cellars in the village, and suggested that the girl should go round and see what she could find in them.

She soon discovered the food that was left behind; and, poor and scanty as it was, she was grateful for

the kindness of those who had thought of her in this way, and promised herself that, if opportunity offered, she would not forget their kind acts. The food thus secured lasted them till Lynx had recovered from his wounds, and was able to go out hunting. But the night before he was to start, he had a dream, and in his dream his guardian spirit came to him, and told him not to despair or be downcast at the turn events had taken; that he would assist him, and that one day he would be a great man, and rule over his tribe. He was further instructed to prepare a bow and arrows after the pattern shown him in his dream, and go to the woods at the back of the village, and there he would always find game in plenty. Accordingly, next day, after relating the dream to his wife, he fashioned himself a bow and a quiver of arrows, after the pattern he had seen in his dream, and went forth to hunt. He had scarcely left the village behind him when fat deer sprang up on all sides. Having killed as many as he deemed enough for them, he returned to the village to inform his wife of his good luck, and to secure her help in bringing home the game. From this time on, they had game and skins in plenty, and lived upon the fat of the land. So plentiful indeed had all kinds of food now become, that that precious possession, mountain goat's and sheep's kidney fat, was as common as meat, and the boy was given a ball of it to play with; and so much had the wife thrown away through the smoke-hole, that the roof was coated with congealed masses of it.

Now things were quite otherwise on the other side

of the water. Soon after Elk-woman and her people had settled there all the game had suddenly disappeared, and now the best and keenest hunters could find nothing to bring home after a long day's hunt.

Famine was busy among them, and they were anything but happy in their new quarters. This state of things had been going on for some time, when one day Raven took it into his head to fly across the water and see how the deserted Lynx and his family were faring. Greatly exhausted by his exertions in his half famished state, he was glad to alight on the ridge-pole of Lynx's keekwilee-house. Recovering himself, he looked round him, and could scarcely believe his eyes when he saw a chubby child, actually playing with a ball of precious kidney fat, as if it were of no value at all. Seizing an opportunity, when the child had rolled the ball of fat towards him, he pounced down upon it, and urged partly by hunger, and partly by greediness, strove to swallow it whole. But the ball was too big to swallow, and stuck in the back of his throat. The child seeing Raven gobble up his plaything, set up a howl, which speedily brought out his mother. Perceiving what had happened, she seized Raven by the neck and forced him to disgorge the ball again. Then giving him a good shaking, she demanded from him what he was doing there, robbing the child of his plaything. Raven confessed that he had flown over, out of curiosity, to see how they were getting on, and being very hungry, could not resist the temptation to swallow the ball of

fat when the opportunity was given him. 'But how came you to be so starving?' questioned the woman; 'you are surely not short of food over the water.' 'Indeed we are,' responded Raven; 'we are worse than short of food, we are all starving.' 'Ah,' said the woman, 'you have rightly fallen upon the lot you desired for me. Go back to your companions and tell them I rejoice to hear of their misfortunes. My husband and I will enjoy our food the more from knowing your stomachs are aching with hunger.' She spoke thus bitterly, because Raven's presence recalled their desertion of herself and child. But Raven pleaded so hard for a meal first, that she relented, and gave him as much meat and fat as he could eat, and told him he might come over every day and get a meal on condition that he did not tell the others. This Raven readily agreed to. When Raven first flew over he was thin and poor, but after a little while the generous diet began to show its effects upon him, and he grew plump and saucy once more, while his companions grew thinner and thinner. His condition soon attracted attention, and his comrades began to suspect that he knew of some stores of food which he selfishly kept to himself. So one day they seized him and threatened to kill him if he would not reveal the source whence he secured his food. At first Raven was true to his promise, and would disclose nothing; but seeing that his companions were in earnest, and would undoubtedly kill him if he hid the matter from them any longer, he confessed that he had been going to the old settlement, and had been

generously fed by Lynx and his wife, who were living in plenty. On hearing this they determined to pocket their pride, and return to the old camp the very next day. In the meantime, while they were making their preparations, Raven flew over and told Lynx and his wife what had transpired. The woman, on hearing the news, recalled the promise she had made to herself, and hastened to stock the food-cellars of those who had thought of her in her distress. She filled their cellars with the choicest game and fat, but put not a morsel in the cellars of the others. Next day, when the tribe returned, those whose kind actions had borne fruit, feasted upon Lynx's game as they had not feasted for a long time before. The others, whose cellars were as empty as their stomachs, gathered round Lynx's keekwilee-house, and eagerly picked up and devoured the scraps which the woman had purposely thrown out. Little Ant and several of his relatives climbed on the roof, and began to eat the fat that had gathered there. For some days neither Lynx nor his wife would show themselves, but each morning they threw out a basketful of bones and pickings, which were quickly seized and devoured by the starving crowd. When the woman thought she had sufficiently humbled their pride, and revenged herself for their cruelty to her, she bade her husband make a great feast, and invite them all to it. This he did, and when they had eaten their fill, he told them of his vision, and the promise his guardian spirit had made to him. From this they perceived that he was ordained to be their chief. They accordingly

denounced the old chieftainess, declaring that she should have known all this, and deposing her, they made him chief in her place.

Thus Lynx's dream was fulfilled, and he became a great man among them from that time forward.

A Typical Salish Mother and Babe

*Photo by* Edwards Bros., Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 243

# CHAPTER XII

## FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE

IN this chapter it is proposed to give a brief sketch of the life of the average native of the region with which we have been dealing, filling in such points of interest as have been passed over in the preceding chapters.

Birth customs vary in detail almost from tribe to tribe, but a common practice over a large area, is or was for the parents to erect a special lying-in lodge, to which the expectant mother would retire in company with three or four old women, experienced in such matters.

As soon as the child is born it is washed in tepid water, and then rolled up or swathed in *slowi*—the inner bark of the ceder beaten fine and soft. It is then placed in a cradle (Plate XXXI.), in which it passes practically the whole of the first year of its life, being taken out only once, or at most twice, in every twenty-four hours, to be washed and made clean. It is suckled, dandled, and amused in its cradle.

When the child is a few days old, the compressing bands for deforming its head are applied. These are generally pads of *slowi*, which are kept in place by strips of soft hide, the latter being tied or laced to the cradle-board. We have already described the method and 'styles' of cranial contortion in vogue in

this region. These compressing pads and bands are kept upon the head of the child for the greater part of the first year of its life, or till the child leaves the cradle.

When it is necessary to carry the child, the cradle rests on the woman's hip, generally on the left side among the Salish, but among the Déné a common method is 'packing' it on the shoulders. When working in the house, or in the field, the cradle is usually suspended from a spring-pole. This is a long thin pole, the butt-end of which is stuck in the ground, and the upper end bent over, and fastened to the cradle, the weight of the child being sufficient to keep it in this position, and allow the cradle to swing gently up and down on the least movement of the child. To keep it swinging, when the child is fractious or fretful, a string is fastened to the cradle, and given to one of the old women of the household to pull from time to time, so that the child is amused or soothed.

The style of cradle varied almost with the tribe. The Thompson and other interior tribes, and also those of the upper delta, most commonly employed a cradle of a coffin-like shape, of spruce or cedar-root basketry. Examples of these cradles are shown in the accompanying plates. In addition to these basket-work cradles, others of birch-bark were also in common use. Many of the cradles were made with a movable fitting hood, which could be pulled up over the head and face of the child, to shelter it from the sun, wind, or rain, as was needed.

When the child was old enough to dispense with

CRADLE LIFE AMONG THE SALISH

*Photo by* Thompson, Vancouver, B.C.

*To face page* 244

the cradle, the latter, with all the swaddling clothes, was taken away, and hung on some bush or tree in the forest; it not being considered 'lucky' to use the same cradle twice, or for two children. To this day, in some parts of the interior nothing is more common than to see these cradles hanging from the bushes or trees.

After the child has passed the cradle-stage of its existence, its garments, except in cold weather, are of the scantiest description. The first event of importance in its young life is when its ears are pierced for the ear-ornaments. A shaman is generally employed to do this, which is effected by means of a pointed bone, the holes being stopped or plugged with splinters of pitch-pine. These are kept in the ear, and 'worked' daily, till the holes are ready for the ear-rings.

If the child be of honourable parentage, the ear-piercing is made the occasion of a great feast. The next important event is the naming of the child. In some tribes this was not formally done till the boy was well on in his teens; in others, the family or ancestral name was given in the second or third year.

As the boy advances in years he is subject to various forms of discipline, which increase in severity, as he approaches manhood. The object of this discipline is to harden his body, and to inure it to the fatigues and privations of the chase. Every night and morning, from about his fourth year, he is made to take a cold bath in the lake or river, summer and winter alike. In some camps it was customary for

the old people to whip the naked bodies of the boys with light rods or small branches, before they were sent to take their plunge. This was to make the skin tingle and burn, so that it could the better withstand the chilling effects of the snow-fed waters. Some of the old people used to pass the rods or branches through the flames of the house-fire before they applied them to the boys' bodies. Whipped daily with rods thus treated, would save a boy, it was thought, from becoming lazy and indolent, when he reached manhood. After he had entered his teens, he was often made to lie out all night without any clothing, till his body had become so inured to the cold that he could go without clothing at any time, without discomfort.

Another practice amongst the youths of the hunting-tribes was to lie all night on the bank or margin of a stream or lake, and keep the hands in the water. When the salmon-run was over, and scores of putrifying bodies lay rotting on the shore, they would thrust the hands and arms, to the elbow, into the rotting fish, and let them thus remain for the greater part of the night. This kind of treatment made them impervious to the winter's cold when out hunting.

Up to the age of puberty, boys and girls grew up and played and lived together, indulging in the frolics and games common to childhood everywhere. The girls had their dolls, and the boys their bows and arrows, and other mimic weapons. With these they played at housekeeping and hunting and fighting, imitating closely the conduct and pursuits of their elders, as children ever do. But from the moment a

girl reaches puberty, the whole course of her existence is changed. She may no longer associate or play with the boys; the serious work of life for her has begun, and when her puberty-rites have been performed, she is kept busy in the lodge with the women. She is now taught to spin and weave, to tan and prepare the hides for clothing, and assist in the general work of the household. Her life from this time onward is one of service and labour. If she be the daughter of a man of standing and wealth, her duties are made comparatively light by the assistance of the household slaves; and should she become the wife of a wealthy man, her cares and duties are lightened by the same means; but if her husband or her parents keep no slaves, then the tasks and duties usually performed by these fall on her shoulders.

Among the games played by the native children was that world-wide one, known by the name of 'cats-cradle.' They had also another game, chiefly played by the girls, which so closely resembled the old-fashioned pastime of battledore and shuttlecock, as to be practically identical with it.

The lot of a boy was freer, and subject to fewer restraints than that of a girl, though a Salish youth was by no means free to come and go, and do as he liked; he too had to submit to the discipline of his elders, and practise many forms of abstinence and self-denial.

The first and most serious step in his young life was the solitary exercise and training which preceded the acquisition of his individual totem or guardian spirit

This, as has been already stated, lasted, according to the desires, aspirations, or ambitions of the novice, for days, weeks, months, or even years.

Early rising was customary among all the tribes, and the eldermen of each household or fire-circle were careful to see that the boys of their groups turned out at daybreak for their morning plunge, in the cold waters of the lake or river. Immediately after their bath they customarily painted their bodies in fanciful or symbolic designs, and engaged in warlike exercises, and in racing, wrestling, and leaping. The women and girls usually watched these proceedings, encouraging, by their presence and their acclamations, the efforts of the contestants.

Among the games played by the young men of the Salish tribes was one closely resembling 'lacrosse.' They had also another ball game, like our own game of football, and still another which differed but little from the game which we call 'rounders.' Another game, common over a large area, was the ring and spear game; the object of which was to throw the spear in front of the ring while it was in motion on the ground, and cause it to stop and fall over.

After youth was over, the games most in favour among the men and women, but especially among the former, are games of chance. The Indian is everywhere an inveterate gambler, and many of his hours of leisure are passed in gambling.

The favourite game among the women is a kind of dice game. It was played with beaver's teeth, marked or carved in different ways, on one side only. According

to the manner in which the teeth turned up, so was the success of the 'thrower,' just as in ordinary dice.

The men have two almost equally popular gambling games. One is played by means of a number of short sticks or rods, from four to six inches in length, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter. The number of these rods varied from a dozen to twenty-five or thirty. Most of the rods are carved or painted with emblems or representations of the dream-objects or totems of the owners, each man having his own set of sticks, which he habitually carried about with him in a small buck-skin bag or wallet. The players kneel opposite one another, each with his own gambling-mat spread before him. Two of the sticks are marked with a painted ring around the middle, or else with a thread of sinew. The player to open the game first takes one of these ringed sticks, and another of the unringed ones—generally one representative of his guardian spirit, or else one he considers 'lucky,' and puts them both on his mat in full view of his opponent. Then he takes them up again, and sets them beside his knee, where the other man might not see them, and rolls each stick up in dry grass, until no part of it can be seen. He then places them on the mat again. The other player has now to guess which of the two is the ringed stick. To do this he takes a stick called the 'pointer,' and with it taps the grass-covered rods four times. He then turns them round with the pointer another four times, each time following course of the sun. He then chooses one of the rods by pushing it to the edge of the mat, towards the first player, who now takes

it up and strips it of its covering of grass, and shoves it back into the centre of his set of sticks, which, after shaking loosely in his hand, he now throws down on the mat, one by one. When all are spread out, it is then seen whether the guess has been correct, and whether the guesser has won by retaining on the mat the ringed stick. If only one marked or 'trump' rod is found among the set, then the guesser has won; but if both are on the mat, then he has lost, and the game goes to the player. The next game is opened by the loser, the winner now doing the guessing.

The second guessing or gambling game was even more widely played than the first. This was a game in which more than two could play at once. The players knelt in two opposing rows, and played in sides. If the game was played at night, a fire was lighted in the centre of the space between the two sides, light being necessary to play the game. Each side possesses a pair of 'bones.' These are two short bone rods, about two inches in length, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter, and tapering slightly from the centre towards the ends. One of these bones was bound round the middle with a sinew-thread, to distinguish it from the other. This was the 'lucky' or 'trump' bone. The side playing passes the two bones from man to man, the opposite side having to guess which hand holds the trump bone. While the playing goes on, the side holding the bones sing their gambling songs to the accompaniment of drum-beating. The drum used on these and similar occasions was merely a board placed on the ground in front of the players, the drummers

striking this in cadence with short rods. The stakes played for were the personal property of the players, and considerable amounts at times changed hands.

Sometimes, during the winter seasons, these gambling games were continued for days and nights together, the players hardly taking time to eat or sleep.

Following the puberty-rites, which were comparatively simple among these tribes, especially for boys, and the acquisition of his guardian spirit or spirits, the youth next turns his thoughts towards marriage. We have already described the ceremonies in connection with this. After his marriage his time and attention are mainly taken up with hunting or fishing, these being indeed the chief tasks and occupations of his life. When not actually engaged in pursuit of the game or in fishing, he is either resting from his past labours, or preparing for future ones. The red-letter days of his life are those devoted to the 'Potlatch,' or Gift Feasts, of which we have already spoken. Occasionally, in pre-trading days, the even tenor of his existence was broken by a call to arms to aid in the defence or protection of the camp or village from the attack of hostile bands or tribes, or by a temporary excitement, caused by the return of a band of the restless and more martial spirits of the settlement, from a foray upon some distant or hostile camp. Sometimes these forays are successful, and the men return laden with booty, bringing many slaves with them. Then there is great rejoicing.

Sometimes, however, they are not successful, and then if lives have been lost, which is probably the

case, there is great lamentation and grief for a season.

The *Smäiltas* or winter dances, among the coast and delta Salish, was the time and occasion most looked forward to and enjoyed. This, following as it did close upon the annual catch and storing away of large supplies of fish-food, left their minds easy as to the commissariat, and enabled them to give themselves up to unstinted feasting and dancing; but so well ordered were the lives and conduct of the Salish tribes, as a rule, that little or no unruly conduct, and certainly no licentiousness of any kind was indulged in, as is not uncommon in gatherings of the sort among primitive races.

As has been already remarked more than once, the natives of the region with which we are dealing, and particularly the members of the Salish stock, were, before contact with Europeans, a well-regulated, peace-loving, and virtuous people, whose existence was far from being squalid or miserable. The great age to which both men and women formerly lived, shows the vigour of the race, and the general wholesomeness of their lives and conditions. Up to a few years ago, octogenarians, nonagenarians, and centenarians were almost as common as children among them, and even to this day not a few old men and women remain, who distinctly remember Simon Fraser's passage down the Fraser, in the early years of the last century. It was no uncommon thing, a generation or two ago, to see four or even five generations of the same family living together under the same roof.

The hardy, rigorous training and discipline of the youths of the old days doubtless early weeded out all the weak and sickly, and left none but the healthy and robust to grow to manhood. Thus a vigorous race was propagated. The aged were always sure of kindness and consideration at the hands of their kindred—family affection being a strong trait among these tribes; and they could look forward to an honourable burial, when the grave at last claimed them.

Even the women, whose lot among primitive races is always harder than that of the men, had by no means, at any rate among the Salish tribes, a hard time. Though they were kept fully occupied, from early morn to eve, by household and family cares, they found a solace for their existence in the love and affection of their children; and their voices customarily had a large share in all that concerned the family, and also, to some extent, the tribal life. The practice of holding slaves among these tribes tended to make the lot of the women easier and more independent, for they were thus relieved of the heavier and rougher tasks.

The life then of an average Western Indian, as it was lived in the earlier days, was not that of a vicious or degraded savage. He had advanced many stages beyond this when we first came into contact with him, and his life, though simple and rude, was on the whole well ordered and happy; and if his wants and aspirations were few, so also were his cares and worries.

# INDEX


ADOPTION, among the Western Déné, 147.
Adzes, Stone, 138, 140.
After-life, Déné myth of, 178 *et seq.*
  Salish belief as to, 180.
Animism, 166 *et seq.*
Area occupied by Salish and Déné Tribes, 1.
  Climate of, 5, 14.
  Geographical features of—
    coast-line and its fiords, 4.
    islands, 4, 5.
    lakes, 13, 14.
    mountain-ranges, 2, 3.
    plain, 2.
    plateau, 3.
    rivers, 4-5.
Aristocracy of the Salish, 160-2.
Armlets and Anklets, 71.
Armour, 22, 129-31.
Arrow-heads, 128-9.
Arrow-poison, 129.
Askettih tribe, Mackenzie's remarks on, 21-2.
Axes, Stone, 138, 140.

BABINES, Déné sub-tribe—
  lip-ornaments of, 85, 88.
  physical characteristics of, 42-3.
Bark, (*see also* Birchbark), used as food, 103.
  vessels of the Carrier tribe, 120 *et seq.*
  willow, used for smoking, 142.
Baskets, Hats, etc., made of Cedar root, Bella Coola tribe, 119.
Basket-making, methods of, 109, 117 *et seq.*
  decoration in, 115-6.
  various forms of, 109, 110-12.
Beads, destroyed in sign of mourning, Loucheux tribe, 192-3.
Bears, hunting customs concerning, 168.
Bella Coola, Salish sub-tribe—
  cedar-root baskets of, 119.
  marriage customs among, endogamous, 162-3.
Berries used as food, and how preserved, 103 *et seq.*
Betrothal, among the Western Déné, 157.
Birchbark, used for Canoes, 120-1.
Birds, 10, 11, 14, 106.
Birth customs, 243-5.
Bowls of stone, 141.
Bows and Arrows, 17, 127-9.
Boys and Youths, discipline and training of, 245-6, 247.
Buffalo, area of, olden times, 100.
Burial grounds, Lillooet, 199, Thompson, 205.
Buriers of the Dead, taboos, etc., incurred by, 193, 206.

CACHES, 108.
'Candle fish,' 12, 13.
Canoes, 16.
  and their manufacture, 120-1, 138.
  of the coast, 135.
  of the interior, 133-5.

Canoes—*continued.*
propulsion of, 138.
Carriers, a Déné sub-tribe—
animals used for food by, 99.
aristocracy among, 143, 146 *et seq.*
barks used by, and vessels made by, 120 *et seq.*
castes among, 146.
clothing, *see that head.*
cooking vessels of, for great occasions, 124-5.
corpse disposal among, duties of widows, and cremation, 148, 150, 196 *et seq.*
dwellings of, 57-60.
habitat of, 35.
Mackenzie's references to, 20.
marriage customs of, 182.
moccasins of, 77.
origin of name, 150, *and see* 198.
physical characteristics of, 42.
religious beliefs and practices of, 172-3.
salmon-catching—corrals for, 93.
service-berry, preserving, 105.
a trace of endogamy among, 145.
Caste, among the Salish tribes, 146, 160.
Cedar-tree, uses made of, 7, 8, 135.
bark or 'slowi,' 39, 63, Mason *cited* on, 120.
planks, houses built of, 23.
root, baskets, etc., made of, 112, 113, 119.
Ceremonial Dress and ornaments, Déné, 77, 80 *et seq.*
Chahalis and other delta tribes—
Marriage customs of, 185 *et seq.*
Chiefs of the Salish tribes, hereditary and elective, 159-60.
pride and exclusiveness of, 160, 161-2.
Chilcotin, Déné sub-tribe—
ceremony used by, during eclipses, 172.
Chilcotin—*continued.*
clothing of, fur cloaks, 79, moccasins, 77.
dwellings of, 50.
habitat of, 35.
physical characteristics of, 42.
Children, burial customs concerning, 205.
clothing of, 245-6.
ear-piercing of, 245.
games and toys of, 246, 247.
modes of carrying, 244.
naming of, 245.
training of boys, 245-6.
Chinook—
cranial deformation practised by, 38-9, 41.
war-canoes of, 138.
Chisels, stone, 140.
Clams, 13.
Climate, 5, 14.
Clothing, male and female, 63.
materials and manufacture of, 63 *et seq.*
Vancouver *cited* on, 16.
various garments worn, 66 *et seq.*
of young children, 245-6.
Coast line, 4.
Coastal Salish—
basketry of, 111.
cranial deformation practised by, 38.
habitat of, 33.
occupations and physique of, 38.
Coastal and Delta Salish—
dug-out canoes of, 135.
habitations of, 51 *et seq.*
Coat-armour, 22, 129-31.
Cooking, (*see* Food and Cooking), of roots, 102.
Vessels—
Déné, 123-4.
Salish, 55, 97-8.
Corpses, disposal of, *see* Death and Funeral Customs.

Corrals for salmon-catching, 93.
Courage, lack of, among British Columbian Indians, 43 *et seq.*
Cowitchin, Salish sub-tribe—
  cranial deformation practised by, 38, 39.
  high death-rate among, 28.
  Mackenzie *cited* on, 23.
Cradles of Indian babies, 243-5.
Cranial deformation, tribes practising, 38-41.
Cree tribe, forays of, 45.
Cremation, among the Carriers, 150, 197.
  among the Loucheux, 196.

Dance masks, Salish, 177.
Dances, 177.
  death, 194.
  religious, 170, 172.
  social, 53, 163-4, 252.
Dawson, Dr. G., *cited* on Shuswap canoes, 133-4.
Daylight, origin of, myth of, 212 *et seq.*
Death, Déné ideas on, 178.
Death and Burial customs—
  Carrier tribe, 148, 150, 196.
  Déné race, 192 *et seq.*
  Loucheux tribe, 192-3.
  Salish race, 72.
  Thompson tribe, 203.
Death-dances, 194.
Death-masks, 153.
Death-rate, among natives, 27.
Deer, divination by figures of, 207.
  hunting customs connected with, 167-8.
  used for food, 99, 107.
Delta tribes of the Salish Stock—
  cranial deformation practised by, 38.
  habitat of, 33.
de Smet, Father, *cited* on the Kooteney character, 45-6.
Déné tribes—
  basketry of, 110.
  classification and distribution of, 34-5.
  coat-armour of, 131.
  death and burial customs of, 192 *et seq.*
  dress, variations in, 74 *et seq.*
  dwellings of, 57 *et seq.*
  dwindling population of, 28-9.
  patriarchy among, 156-7.
  physical characteristics of, 41 *et seq.*
  religious beliefs of—
    afterlife myth of, 178 *et seq.*
    eclipse ceremony of, 172.
    shamanism predominant in, 173.
    soul or spirit, ideas on, 177-8.
  salmon-fishing, methods of, 92.
  social organisation of, 156 *et seq.*
  Eastern tribes—
    canoes of, 'dug-outs,' 135.
    marriage customs of, 157.
    patriarchy among, 156.
  Northern tribes—
    honesty of, 46-7.
    vessels of, bark and wooden, 126.
  Western tribes—
    marriage among, 157.
    patriarchy among, 156.
    property among, 145-7.
Déné, *see also* Babines, Carriers, Chilcotin, Loucheux, Nahane, Sarcee, Sikani.
Dip or bag-net, salmon-fishing with, 91, 94.
Diseases and other causes of mortality, 29.
Divination as to deaths, 207.
Dixon and Meares, explorations of, 26.

Dogs, woolly-haired, formerly owned by native tribes, 18, 23, 70.
Dress, *see* Clothing.
Drums, how manipulated, 250.

EAR ornaments, 70, 85, 86.
Ear-piercing, and feast at, 245.
Eating, implements for, 107.
Eclipses, Dené dance at, 172.
Elk-maiden, the, myth of, 228 *et seq.*
Endogamy, 145, 162.
Eurydice myth, a native version of, 214.
Exogamous divisions of western Dené, 143-5.
Explorers, and their accounts of the natives, 16 *et seq.*

FACE-PAINTING, ceremonial, of the Dené, 85.
Face- and body-painting, Salish tribes, its symbolism, 73-4.
Facial types of American Indians, 35-6.
Fathers, position of, in exogamous matriarchal tribes, western Dené, 145.
Fauna, of the land, 10, 14, 99.
of the sea and rivers, 11.
Feasts—
ear-piercing, 245.
first Fruits, 103, and *see* 168-9.
marriage, 161, 185, 187, 192.
mortuary, 161, 194, 200.
naming, 161.
pot-latch or gift, 56, 124, 155-6, 161, 163, 164, 251.
Smäitlas, 53, 163, 164, 252.
succession, among the Carriers, 148 *et seq.*
Ferns and mosses, 8, 9.
Fir forests, the gigantic 'Douglas' pine of, 7.
First Fruit ceremonies, 103, propitiatory, not recognitive, 168-9.
Fish, (*see* Marine Products, Salmon *and* Sturgeon), the staple food, 89.
Flora, 6-9, 101, 102, 103, 104, 169.
Folk-tales and myths (Chap. XI.), 212 *et seq.*
Food, 22—
and cooking, 89 *et seq.*
how served, eaten, and stored, 107-8.
Form and spirit, identity of, Indian idea of, 176.
Four, Salish mystic number, 174, *see* 183, 196, 200, 207, 208.
Fraser River, discovery and exploration of, 20, 21.
salmon, and salmon-fishing in, 4, 12, 90.
sturgeon, and sturgeon-fishing in, 12, 98-9.
Fraser River Indians, basketry of, 111, 118-9.
Fraser, Simon, his references to the Salish, 21-5.
Fringes, prevalent as ornament, 68, 69, 77.
Fruits, berries, roots, etc., propitiation of, 168 *et seq.*
Funeral feasts, 161, 194, 200.
Fur Companies, and their trading posts, 25.

GAMBLING games, 248-51.
Game, used for food, 99, 100, storage of, 100-1.
Games at mortuary feasts, 194.
of Salish youths, 248.
and toys of Indian children, 246, 247.
of Women, 248.
Geographical features, British North America, 1-5, 13.
Geological indications of the same, 15.

Girls and marriageable maidens, home life of, 246-7.
Guardian spirits, *see* Totemism.

HAIDA tribe, a dwindling race, 23, tattooing among, 74.
Hair—
  colour of, and care of, 36-7, 71-3.
  cutting-off of, a sign of mourning, 72, 193, 197, 200, 210.
  head-dresses, ceremonial, made of, 81-2.
Halkomelem, a Salish sub-tribe—
  habitat of, 33.
  salmon-nets used by, 91.
Hammers, stone, materials, shapes, and uses of, 139-40.
Harpoons, 132.
Head-coverings, 63, 67, 68, 76, 78.
  ceremonial, of the Déné, 80-2.
Head-deformation, as practised by the Salish, 38-41.
  process of, 243.
History, 14 *et seq.*
Honesty of the Indians, 22, 46.
Houses, native, various forms and uses of, 23, 51 *et seq*, 153, 182, 197, 198, 206-7, 243.
Hudson's Bay Company, humanity and justice of, 25.
Hunting customs of the Thompsons, animistic basis of, 167.
  grounds, when private property, 143, when otherwise, 157, 159.
  regulations, of the Eastern Déné, 157-8.
Husband's and wives, property of, separate, 147.

IMBRICATION, defined, 116.
Impostor, the, punished, an anima folk-tale, 220 *et seq.*
'Indians' of America, why so called, 30.
Indians of British Columbia, *see* Salish *and* Déné.
  characteristic facial types of, 35-6.
Interior Salish tribes—
  chiefs of, elective, 159.
  dress of, 56.
  habitat of, 33.
  occupations of, 37.
  physique of, 38.

JONES, Mr. Strachan, *cited* on—
  Exogamous divisions, Western Déné, 43-4.
  Loucheux dwelling, 62.

KHALS, Salish tribal culture-hero, 170-1.
Knives and daggers, 129.
Kooteney tribe, virtues of, de Smet *cited* on, 45-6.
Kutchin, *see* Loucheux.
Kwakiutl tribe, marauding habits of, 43, 54.

LAKES, 13, 14.
*Lilium Columbianum*, edible root of, 101.
Lillooets, a Salish sub-tribe—
  habitat of, 33.
  marriage customs of, 33.
  mortuary customs of, 199.
  storage methods of, 108.
Lip ornaments, 71, 85, 87-8.
Long-house, communal, of the Salish, 51, exterior, 51, interior, 52, fittings, etc., 53.
Loucheux, a Déné sub-tribe—
  clothing of, 75-6.
  dwellings of, 61-2.
  exogamous divisions of, 143.
  habitat of, 34.
  table and cooking utensils of, 126.
Lukungen tribe, diminishing numbers of, 28.

MACKENZIE, Alexander, and his observations on the Salish, 19-21.
Mackenzie River tribes, basketry of, 110.
Marine life, wealth of, 11-13, used as food, 99.
Marriage customs—
Déné, Eastern, 157, Western, 181.
Lillooets, 186 *et seq.*
Matriarchal tribes, 145, 182.
Nahane, Western, 181.
Salish, 69, 162-3, 183 *et seq.*
Squamish, 185.
Thompson, (interior), 190 *et seq.*
feasts, 161, 187, 192.
Masks, *see* Dance *and* Death Masks.
Mason, *cited* on the uses of cedar-bark, 120.
Matriarchal tribes, marriage customs of, 145, 182.
Meals, how eaten, 107.
Men, dress of, 63 *et seq.*
Mittens of the Déné, 76, 78.
Moccasins, 67, 77.
Modesty of Salish maidens, 69.
Moose, as beast of burden, 61.
Morice, Father, *cited*, *passim.*
Mortuary feasts, 161, 194, 200.
Mountains, 2, 3.
Mourning, indications of, (*see* Beads, Hair-cutting, Taboos), 208.

NAHANE, a Déné sub-tribe—
exogamous divisions of, 143.
habitat of, 35.
marriage customs of, 181.
moccasins of, 77.
patriarchy among, 156.
Names, savage ideas on, 176-7.
Naming feasts, 161.
Native races of British Columbia—
classification of, 32 *et seq.*
Native races—*continued.*
distribution of, 31.
present-day conditions, occupations, and numbers of, 27-9.
Necklaces, 71, 85, 86.
Netses, Carrier phratries, 145.
North-West Fur Company's explorations, 25.
Nose ornament, 76, 87, *and see* 16.
Nuts and seeds used as food, 101, 106.

OBJECT and representation, relation between, Salish idea on, 177.
Okanagons, a Salish sub-tribe—
habitat of, 33.
Oil-extraction from the Salmon, 95 *et seq.*
Origin of native races of America, 30, 31.
Ornamentation of basket-work, 115, purpose of, 116.
Ornaments, male and female, shapes and substances of, 70-1.

PAINTING, *see* Face-painting.
Patriarchy, tribes prevalent among, 156-7.
Petitot, Father, *cited* on native dress, 75.
Phratries, 143 *et seq.*
Pipes and smoking, 141-2.
Plain, inland, 2.
Plateau, central, 3, climate of, 6.
Polygamy, common in all the tribes, 182.
Population, native, dwindling of, 27-9.
Pot-latch feasts, features of, 56, 124, 155-6, 161, 163, 164, 251.
Property, distribution of, at Pot-latch feasts, 155.
regulations concerning, 145-6.
two classes of, 147.

Puberty, customs observed at, 57, 69, 72-3, 74, 83-4, 168.

RASPBERRY, wild, fruit and suckers of, as food, ceremonies connected with, 103, 169, 170.
Reef-net salmon-fishing, 90.
Religious beliefs, *see under* Déné *and* Salish, *see also* Dances, *and* Feasts.
  Animism of, 166 *et seq.*
  Shamanism in, 173.
Rivers, 4, 5, 13.
Roots used as food, 101.
Ross, B. R., *cited* on the timidity of the northern Déné, 44.
Round houses, of the Salish, peculiarities of, 56-7.

SALISH tribes, *see also* Coastal *and* Interior—
  basketry of, 111-3, and its ornamentation, 115 *et seq.*
  classification and distribution of, 32, 33.
  clothing of, 63.
  death and funeral customs of, 198 *et seq.*
  longevity common among, 253-4.
  Mackenzie *cited* on, 21.
  maidens of, their modesty, 69, 192.
  marriage customs of, 69, 162, 183 *et seq.*
  moral qualities of, 43, 45-7, and moral precepts, 47-9, high moral standard of, 252-3.
  occupations of, 37-8.
  painting of face and body by, 73-4.
  physical characteristics—
    facial type, 36, eyes, teeth, hair, etc., 36-8.
    head-deformation practised by, 38-41, 243.
Salish tribes—*continued.*
  population of, present-day, 34.
    dwindling numbers of, 28.
  religious beliefs and customs, *see also* Feasts.
    afterlife, 180.
    salmon ceremony, 170.
    Sulia, or guardian spirit, 173 *et seq.*
  slavery among, 40, 160, 164-5.
  social organisation among—
    interior, communistic, 158.
    river, coastal and island divisions, etc., of, 159 *et seq.*
  tattooing among, 74.
  training of youth by, 247-8.
  Vancouver's account of, 16 *et seq.*
Salish, *see also* Bella Coola, Chahalis, Cowitchin, Fraser River, Halkomelem, Lillooets, Lukungen, Okanagons, Shuswaps, Squamish, Thompsons.
Salmon and salmon-fishing, 11-13, 90 *et seq.*
  as affected by dead bodies, 202.
  ceremony connected with, 170-1.
  cooking of, when fresh, 97-8.
  drying or curing of, 94.
  five species of, 89.
  oil extraction from, storage of, 94 *et seq.*
Sarcee necklaces, worn ceremonially, 85-6.
Seals, and other marine animals, 11.
Sechelt tribe, cranial deformation among, 40.
Service-berries as food, and how preserved, 104-6.
Shamanism, and the Shaman, 173-4.
Shields, 129-31.
Shoots used as food, 103, 169.
Shuswaps, a Salish sub-tribe—
  canoes of, 134.
  habitat of, 33.

Sikani, a Déné sub-tribe—
animals used for food by, 99.
bows and arrows of, 127.
death and funeral customs of, 198.
habitat of, 34.
honesty of, 46-7.
Mackenzie's references to, 19.
marriage customs among, 182-3.
moccasins of, 77.
patriarchy among, 156.
physical characteristics of, 41.
Sister's son, marriage of, to daughter, object of, 145.
Skins, as clothing, 66, *et seq.* 77.
strips of, in succession feasts, 149, 151.
Slavery, among the Salish, 40, 160, 164-5.
in relation to women's status, 253.
Slaves, killed at funerals, Thompson tribe, 204.
Smäitlas, the, dancing at, 53, 163, 164, 252.
Snares, 132.
'Sockeye' salmon, 89, 170-1.
Songs, at succession feasts, 151, 152.
Soul or spirit, Déné beliefs on, 177-8.
Spears, fishing and fighting, 17, 92, 129, 131, 132.
Spindles and whorls, Salish tribe, 64-5.
Spirits, belief in, 166 *et seq.*, 175 *et seq.*
Spruce bark, uses of, 120.
Squamish tribe—
cranial deformation among, 39.
marriage customs of, 185.
Stone implements—
adzes, 138.
axes, 138.
bowls, 141.
hammers, materials, shapes and uses of, 139-40.
Storage of Food, Oil, etc., 95-7, 107.
Sub-tribes of the Déné, 34-5.
of the Salish, 33.
Succession, among the Carrier nobles, 148 *et seq.*
feasts, 148, 151, 152.
Sulia, or guardian spirit, Salish belief in, 173; how acquired, 174, classes of, 175-6, how kept 'in touch' with, 176-7.
Swan's down, use of, in succession feast, 150-1.
Sweat-houses, uses of, 101, 202.
Symbolism of—
body and face painting, 73-4.
decorative designs, 116.

TABLE utensils, various tribes, 23, 55, 107, 126.
Taboos, mortuary, 193, 197, 201, 206.
Tattooing, among the Déné, symbolism of, 84-5, 116.
among the Salish, 74.
Tceepons, or cellars, of interior tribes, 108.
Tenezas, or nobles, of the Carriers, 146.
Thompsons, a Salish sub-tribe—
armour-tunics of, 131.
caps, of totem animals' skins, worn by, 68.
cooking of roots by, 102.
death and burial customs of, 203.
habitat of, 33.
habitations of, 56.
hunting customs of, animistic basis of, 167.
Mackenzie's accounts of, 23.
marriage customs of, 190 *et seq.*
meat-drying among, 101.
salmon-oil, extraction of, 95.
salmon—spearing of, 92.
stone tools and implements of, 40.
storage methods of, 108.
superior culture of, 140.

Tobacco, 141.
Tomahawks, 129, 131-2.
Tombs, articles found in, 23, 141.
Tools, *see* Adzes, Axes, Hammers.
Totem dances, 164.
masks, *see* Dance Masks.
Totems—
in decorative designs, 85, 216.
on house-posts or beams, 24, 59, 153, 156, 177.
Totemism, 68, 85, 174, definition of, and instances of, 174 *et seq.*
Touching, marriage by, an obsolete custom, 192.
Training of boys and youths, Salish tribes, 245-8, 253.
Traps, 133, and baskets for salmon-fishing, 91, 92, 93-4.
Treasure-chests, construction of, 54, and size, 55.
Tree-burial, 198, 211.

VANCOUVER ISLAND tribes, basketry of, 119.
Vancouver's account of the Salish, 16-18.
Vegetable foods, and cooking of, 101 *et seq.*
Venison, staple food of inland tribes, 99.

WALLETS used by Déné and Carriers, 125.
Wampum necklaces, 86.
War clubs, 129, 131.
Weapons, 17, 22.
bows and arrows, 17, 127-9.
clubs, 129, 131.
shields, 129-31.
Weaving, as practised by the Salish, 64 *et seq.*
Weirs for salmon-fishing, 90, 92.
Widows, customs connected with, 150, 154, 196 *et seq.*, 201-3, 208-11.
Wild-fowl, and wild-fowling, 106.
Women, *see also* Husband and Wife, Maidens, Widows, etc.—
dress of, 68 *et seq.*
favourite guardian spirits of, 176.
games of, 248.
hair-dressing of, among Salish tribes, 72-3.
position of, among the Salish, 253.
tattooing confined to, Déné, 76, Salish, 74.
work done by, 58, 61.
Wrens, wide distribution of, 11.
Wrestling for a wife, 157.

YUTTOERE, the celestial being of the Carriers, 173.

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